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# Strengthening Modifiers of Adjectives and Adverbs

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# Middle High German

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A Dissertation

Presented to the Board of University Studies of the

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-by-

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98104

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In the following pages a study of the use of strengthening modifiers of adjectives and adverbs during the classical Middle High German period, or from about 1150 to 1300, is attempted. Such devices being so largely unconscious, and at the same time so subject to fashion, we may expect to find a certain consistency in their use, and to see in them the marks of style, sometimes of the individual, but more often of different schools and classes of literature. They seem therefore well worthy of special treatment.

Aside from the thesis of H. Z. Kip,[1] which is limited to the religious poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and which treats the subject more from the standpoint of the lexicographer, no such treatment has been given. What little has been done on the subject is to be found in the dictionaries, and scattered through the notes in the various editions of the works of this period. That the material there offered is inadequate, and the statement of facts often erroneous,

(1) Zur Geschichte der Steigerungsadverbien in der deutschen geistlichen Dichtung des 11 und 12. Jahrhunderts, (Leipzig Dissertation) Journ. of Germ. Phil. vol. III p. 143ff.

is apparent to one who takes but a casual glance into the subject, or who will but compare the notes of the different editors.

During the investigation which has formed the basis of this study, such questions as the following have been kept in mind, in the case of each of the words which may be classed as strengthening particles, viz:

1. The origin and development of meaning of the word.
2. In what dialects and for what periods is it current?
3. In what classes of literature is it found, or in what classes is it ~~the~~ most frequent?
4. With what classes of adjectives and adverbs is it joined?
5. Is it a part of the popular dialect, or is it confined to literary or poetical diction?
6. Are there any signs of its becoming obsolete?
7. The peculiarities of individual writers, if any.

Not all of the literature of this period has been examined, as that seemed neither necessary nor feasible. The works which were selected for exhaustive treatment, however, are such as may be considered as fairly repre-

sentative of the different classes of literature during the period, and are numerous enough to warrant the drawing of general conclusions.

For the purpose of statistics, the different forms of the same word to which a strengthening particle is joined (as for instance, nâ, nâch, nâhe, nâhen) are grouped together, and no distinction is made between the adjective and the adverbial use of the same word. This plan has been adopted on the assumption that the choice of a strengthening particle with any author, is not dependent on the form or grammatical use of the word to be strengthened. In the examples ~~which are~~ given, the more usual form of the word, and in the case of adjectives, the uninflected form, appears. No attempt has been made to preserve the orthography of the different editions, except where direct citations are made.

## Sources and Texts.

The following works have served as sources. They are arranged under the different dialects, as far as may be determined, in chronological order, the classification and dating being that of the various editors, Paul's Grundriss, and Michels' Mittelhochdeutsches Elementarbuch. The works have been examined exhaustively, except as may be indicated for some of the longer ones. The figures in parentheses after any title indicate the number of lines of that particular monument which have been considered.

### Alemannic.

1. Poetical Monuments.

a) Lower Alemannic.

Reinmar von Hagenau, Des Minnesangsfrühling, p. 150 ff.
Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan, ed. by Bechstein, Leipzig 1890.
Konrad Fleck, Flore und Blanscheflur, ed. by Emil Sommer, Quedlinburg 1846.
Die Gute Frau, ed. by the same, ZfdA 2, 385 ff.
Vorlar, Das Steinbuch, ed. by Laubel, Heilbronn 1877.
Konrad von Würzburg,
Der Trojanische Krieg (10000), ed. by A. von Keller, Stuttgart, 1858,
Keiser Otte mit dem Barte, ed. by K. A. Hahn, Quedlinb.-Leipzig 1838.
Alexius, ed. by Richard Heinczynski, Berlin 1889.
Hugo von Langenstein, Martina, (10000), ed. by A. von Keller, Stuttgart 1856.
Reinfried von Braunschweig, (10000), ed. by Bartsch, Stuttgart 1871.

Peter von Staufenberg, ed. by Edw. Schröder, Zwei Altdeutsche Ritterdichtungen, Berlin 1894.

b) Upper Alemannic.

Rudolf von Ems,

Der Gute Gerhard, ed. by Haupt, Leipzig 1840.

Barlaam und Josaphat (10000), ed. by Pfeiffer, Leipzig 1843.

Johannes Hadlaub, ed. by Bartsch, Bibliothek Aelterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz, vol. VI, 2831f.

?. Prose.

Altdeutsche Predigten, ed. by Wackernagel, (ser. one 1-52) Basel 1876.

Predigten des 13. Jahrhunderts, ed. by Grieshaber (100 pages), Stuttgart 1844-46.

Predigten auf Johannes den Täufer, Germania, 35.

Bavarian-Austrian.

1. Poetical monuments.

a) Bavarian.

Albrent von Johansdorf, MF XII.

Wolfdietrich B, bearbeitet von Oskar Jänicke, Deutsches Heldenbuch, vol III, Berlin 1871.

Wolfram von Eschenbach, Parzival, ed. by Lachmann, Berlin 1891.

Neidhart von Reuentnal, ed. by Haupt, Leipzig 1858.

Wernher der Gartenaere, Helmbreht, ed. by Keinz, Leipzig 1887.

Die Warnung, ed. by Haupt, ZfdA 1, 43ff.

Laurent von Regensburg, S. Franziskus Leben, ed. by Weinhold, Paderborn 1880.

Reinbot von Durne, Der Heilige Georg, ed. by F. Vetter, Halle 1896.

Ulrich von Lichtenstein (7385), ed. by Lachmann, Berlin 1841.

Der Jüngere Titurel (2300), ed. by K. A. Hahn, Quedlinburg 1842.

Lohengrin (5000), ed. by Rückert, Quedlinb-Leipzig 1858.

b) Austrian.

Die Hochzeit, ed. by Wang, Kleinere deutsche Gedichte des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts, Halle 1890.

Genesis und Exodus, nach der Millstätter Handschrift, ed. by J. Diemer, Vienna 1862.

Die Bücher Mosis, ed. by the same, Deutsche Gedichte des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts.

Entecrist, ed. by Hoffmann, Fundgruben II, 145ff. (3)

Kindheit Jesu, Konrad von Fussesbrunen, ed. by Koch-enörffer, OeF 43.

Der Nibelunge Not (with reference to versions A, B, and C.), ed. by Bartsch, Leipzig 1870-80. (1)

Biterolf und Dietleib, ed. by Jänicke, DHP vol I.

Ortnit, ed. by Amelung and Jänicke, DHB vol. III.

Wolfdietrich A and C, by the same.

Kudrun, ed. by B. Symons, Halle 1883.

Walther von der Vogelweide, ed. by ~~Wilmann~~ Lachmann, Berlin 1891. (2)

Der Stricker, Karl der Grosse (10000), ed. by Bartsch, Quedlinburg 1857.

Friedank, Bescheidenheit, ed. by Bezzenberger, Halle 1872.

Heinrich von dem Türlin, Diu Krone (10000), ed. by Scholl, Stuttgart 1852.

Ulrich von Lichtenstein (7285), ed. by Lachmann, Berlin 1841.

Der Pleier, Garel von dem blühenden Tal (10000), ed. by Walz, Freiburg 1892.

Friedrich von Sonnenburg, ed. by Zingerle, Innsbruck 1878.

Ulrich von Eschenbach, Alexander (10000), ed. by Wendelin Toischer, Tübingen 1888.

2. Prose.

Bertnold von Regensburg (vol. 1, 155 pp., vol. 2, 53 pp.) ed. by Pfeiffer and Strobl, Vienna 1862-80.

Altdeutsche Predigten, Wackernagel, (sermons 21-26)

Altdeutsche Predigten aus dem Benedictinerstifte St. Paulus, ed. by A. Jeitteles.

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(1) The dictionary of this edition was used for statistics as to strengthening particles.

(2) Hornig's Glossar zu Walther was used for data.

(3) The last four manuscripts in the list are much earlier than the others but are included in the table for the sake of comparison.

Swabian.

Wernhers Maria, Fundgruben II, 145 ff.
Meinloh von Söflingen, MF II.
Bernger von Horneia, MF XIV.
Heinrich von Rugge, MF XIII.
Hartmann von Aue,
  Lyrics, MF XXI.
  Erec, ed. by Haupt, Leipzig 1871.
  Erstes Büchlein, ed. by Bech, Leipzig 1871-3.(1)
  Gregorius, ed. by Paul, Halle 1882.
  Der Arme Heinrich, ed. by the same.
  Iwein, ed. by Henrici, Halle 1891.(2)
  Zweites Büchlein, ed. by Bech, as above.(3)
Gottfried von Neifen, ed. by Haupt, Leipzig 1851.
Ulrich Schenk von Winterstetten, ed. by Minor, Vienna 1882.
Der Marner, ed. by Strauch, QuF 14.
Der Rosengarten, ed. by Georg Holz, Halle 1893.
Wolfdietrich D, ed. by Amelung and Jänicke, DHB vol. 4.

Prose- Bruder David von Augsburg, ed. by ZfdA 9.

East Frankish.

Konrad von Heimsfurt, Himmelfahrt Mariä, ed. by Pfeiffer, ZfdA 8, 156 ff.
Wirnt von Gravenburg, Wigalois, der Ritter mit dem Rade (10000), ed. by Benecke, Berlin 1819.
Der Winsbeke and Die Winsbekin, ed. by Leitzmann, Halle 1888.
Hugo von Trimberg, Der Renner, (5000), herausgegeben von historischen Verein in Bamberg, 1833.

South Frankish.

Moriz von Craon, ed. by Scröder, Zwei altdeutsche Rittermaeren, Berlin 1894.
Reinmar von Zweter, ed. by Gustav Roethe, Leipzig 1887.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

(1) For the Büchlein the edition of Haupt-Martin, Leipzig 1881 was compared.
(2) The dictionary of Benecke-Lachmann was used for data for Iwein.
(3) Vos, Diction and Rime Technic of Hartmann von Aue, was referred to for verification of data for Hartmann.

## West Middle German.

a) Moselfrankish.

Vorau Alexander, ed. by Kinzel, Halle 1884.
Das Rolandslied, ed. by Bartsch, Leipzig, 1874.
König Rother, ed. by K. von Bahder, Halle, 1884.
Orendel, ed. by Arnold E. Berger, Bonn 1888.
Strassburg Alexander, ed. by Kinzel as above.
Sanct Francen, ed. by Carl Schröder, Erlangen 1871.

b) Rheinfrankish.

Friedrich von Hausen, ed. by Lachmann-Haupt, MF p. 42 ff.

c) Hessian.

Athis und Prophilias, ed. by W. Grimm, Kl. Schr. 3,212 ff.
Herbort von Fritzlar, Liet von Troye, ed. by Frommann, Quedlinb-Leip. 1837.
Die Erlösung, ed. by Bartsch, Quedlinb-Leip. 1858.
Elisabeth (gcvv), ed. by Rieger, Stuttgart.

## Thuringian.

a) Poetical Monuments.

Heinrich von Morungen, MF p. 122 ff.
Hoernand von Erfurt, Heinrich und Kunigunde, ed. by Bechstein, Quedlinb-Leip. 1860.
Heinrich von Krölwitz, Das Vater Unser, ed. by Lisch, Quedlinb-Leip. 1839.
Der Sünden Widerstreit, ed. by Zeidler, Graz 1892.
Heinrich von Meissen (gcvvi), ed. by Ettmüller, Quedlinb-Leip. 1843.
Heinrich von Freiberg, Tristan Fortsetzung (gcvvv), ed. by von der Hagen, Gottfried von Strassburg Werke, Breslau 1823.

b) Prose.

Sermons of Eckard, Wackernagel, 55, 56, 60, 61.

By strengthening particles are understood all those adverbs which may be generally applied, with a greater or less weakening of original force, to adjectives and other adverbs for the purpose of strengthening their meaning. The original meaning of the words thus employed is not necessarily wholly lost sight of; and therefore perhaps no two of them have exactly the same value, but a certain fading of original force is implied by their use as general strengthening particles.

All such usage, reduced to its original status, is metaphorical. A word standing for a definite adverbial idea is applied to an adjective or an adverb to give emphasis to the quality which it expresses, that is, the quality expressed by the one is asserted of the other. Applied often enough, the figure loses its force, and it is merely a question of the ~~degree~~ extent to which such a metaphor becomes faded, whether or not the modifier ~~it~~ should be classed as a general strengthening particle.

Some of these strengthening adverbs have a stronger and more specific individual meaning than others, and they retain traces of it longer when thus applied. This is due to

the survival of the word in some other form of usage, and this it is that determines the real strength of the particle. It is necessary that the original meaning of the word be present to the mind in some other connection in order that the force of the metaphor may be felt. It is natural that in the course of time one or the other of such usages, the original or the applied, will become obsolete. In modern German are to be found, however, examples of this double usage which have endured for many centuries. Compare gar in Das Brot ist nicht gar, and in gar schön; recht in recht froh, and recht as a simple adjective. Such expressions as these are pleasing figures because the aptness of the implied comparisons is at once felt.

An example of a particle with a strong original meaning is sêre, which throughout the whole OHG period, and for the most part in MHG, retained the notion which was associated with the noun das sêr. The same is true of English sore, which had a limited use as a strengthening particle.(1) Harte is a similar word. Its connection with harte the adverb of manner, and hart the adjective, colored its meaning, and made it a very emphatic particle when it was so used. In the

(1) And they were sore afraid. Luke 2-9.

case of sêre, the original meaning has in modern German completely disappeared, and the word survives only as an indefinite strengthening particle. Harte on the other hand, has been lost as a strengthening particle, except in such expressions as hart ab, hart bitter, etc., and remains as an adverb of manner and as an adjective.

From the very nature of strengthening particles, they must be general in their application, and recognizedly so. Their use must extend over a larger field than that of particular instances. It is of little significance stylistically, if a writer or speaker uses on a particular occasion a certain word to strengthen the meaning of an adverb, as, sô suit ir merken dise wort vil minneclîchen gerne, or, wir sîn geschart sô kreftec wol, Loh. 4844. On such occasions we assume that he uses the expression intentionally to produce a particular effect. If however he uses the word in this way so often that he begins to do it unconsciously, not thinking of its original force, and if he applies it to a large number of adverbs whose meanings he wishes to emphasize, then we cease to take it at its face value, and the word is weakened to a mere indefinite strengthening particle.

Indefiniteness of meaning is then another mark of the

strengthening particle. For the purpose of accurate classification we shall have to exclude many words, and a few uses of some others, which are commonly considered as strengtheners of adjectives and adverbs. The strengthening of an adverbial or any other notion carries with it the assumption that the notion is capable of different degrees of intensity. The word to which a strengthening particle is joined must be one expressing an idea which is not absolute in its nature, or expressing an absolute notion it must be one used with weakened force. Such particles as gar, ganz, al, drâto, alroges, etc., joined to adjectives or adverbs denoting an absolute quality do not come within our definition. Such expressions as gar âne, al eine, al ze mal, while in a certain loose sense they may be said to be stronger than the same adjectives would be without the modifiers, are not really strengthened by the particles. The qualities expressed by âne, eine, etc., mean no more than before, the limits within which they apply are only extended. If however we substitute for eine instead of the notion oneness the feeling of being alone, or loniness, we have at once an idea capable of different degrees of intensity. Vil eine, or gar eine, then,

in this sense are properly examples of strengthening particles. It is evident that all such adverbs as gar, ganz, al, having the idea of completeness rather than to a high degree, when applied to adjectives or adverbs expressing an absolute quality are used in their real not in the figurative sense.

There are a number of particles which have become so closely connected with the words they modify as to be considered inseparable parts of the expression or compound word. They are usually then written together with the words they modify. Examples of these in modern German are allein, als, also, alsbald, vielleicht, wonlan, wonlauf, wonifeil. In Middle High German we may class under this head such words as alterseine, borlanc, borgrôz, wargrôz, urlit, urmâre, ûbarlût. These are not included in the present discussion.

There are also a number of other adverbs which are occasionally found as modifiers of adjectives and adverbs, but the original meaning of the words is so evident that they are likewise not included in the list of strengthening particles. They are such as the following: ollîche wîren sie geweit, Flis. 459; gar wirdecîchen lobîne, Flis. 414; zuentidlîchen frô, Krl. 813; sô wunneclîchen warde, Südd. Wid. 3106; grôzlîche vil, Karl der Gr. 5057; alsô kreftec-

lîche grôz, Karl der Gr. 7992; gar grimeclîchen kalt, Krone 5440, sô kreftec wol, Loh. 4844; innecliechen leit, wundern schône, Gen. 5-35; tugentlîchen îrd, Frl. 942; sô vreislîchen snel, Wig. 164-10.

The words whose use in Middle High German as strengthening particles is considered in the following pages are: vil, harte, gar, rehte, wol, genuoc, sêre, michel, grimmec, al, and starke.

In the statistics under the different particles, and in the examples given, instances with the comparative are not included. These will be found discussed in a special chapter at the end.

Vil.

The most widespread of all the strengthening particles during the MHG period, as likewise for OHG, is vil. The reason for this popularity lies doubtless in the fact that the word has no strongly marked individual meaning attached to it, and is thus free to be joined to any and all classes of adjectives or adverbs. Etymologically vil, OHG filu, is connected with Latin pollere, to be strong, and the word may be considered as an undeclined neuter, either nominative or accusative as the case may be, of the adjective filus, which has been lost. As used adverbially, including the strengthening particle, vil appears as an accusative of measure or degree.

Whether the Germanic root had reference primarily to quantity or to number is difficult to determine. Probably it was the former. (During the MHG. period vil was however associated more closely with the idea of number) ~~vil~~, At least, it came to be considered the most appropriate particle with such words as manec, dicke, ofte, selten, etc.

The tables which are given below in connection with the detailed treatment of this particle by dialects will show that vil continued as the most common strengthener of adjectives and adverbs over the greater part of the MHG field

down to the close of the thirteenth century . The actual frequency of the word in the different monuments varies greatly. Whatever statements may be made regarding the use of vil will apply also in a large measure to strengthening particles in general. The extent to which they are used is a matter largely of individual taste and habit. There are differences however which are due to the nature of the subject matter and to the particular branch of literature in question. Epic poetry, for instance, seems to offer the greatest opportunity for their use , and this is true more particularly of the popular and the decadent court epic than of the court epic proper. In the popular epic they are employed to enliven the action, already the most important feature, and to give zest to the description. Lyric poetry, on the other hand, especially the more elevated in tone, is not marked by the presence of these particles to so great an extent. In the religious prose, there are great differences, and these are to be ascribed partly to individual taste, partly no doubt to the peculiar usage of the class of society and the region for which the work is written.

The difference in the relative frequency of vil in the different monuments, as compared with the other particles,

is very great even before any general decline in the use of this particle is noticeable. This is of course but a reflex of the varying frequency with which other particles appear, and the conditions regarding these are very complex. As will be shown further on, the declining use of *harte*, *wol*, and *genuoc*, the increasing popularity of *gar*, the varying use of *rehte*, and the sporadic and purely local appearance of *sêre*, *vaste*, and *starke*, all enter into consideration and modify the table of percentages for *vil*.

By the close of the thirteenth century the decline in the use of *vil* is apparent over the whole territory. In certain parts of the field, as West Middle German, and in certain classes of literature, as lyric poetry and the prose monuments, the decline begins earlier and is more decided.

The following tables will show at a glance the relative frequency of *vil* in the different monuments and dialects, together with the ratio it bears to the whole number of strengthening particles. For the sake of comparison, and to show how the periods for the various particles overlap each other, the percentages for *harte* and *gar* are repeated in the tables for *vil*. Lyrical monuments are set in, in order that they may be readily distinguished.

## VII, Alemannic.

| | Total [illegible] | [illegible] | No. per cent | Percentage | Percentage [illegible] | Percentage [illegible] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1. Poetical monuments.** | | | | | | |
| a) Lower Alemannic. | | | | | | |
| Reinmar von Hagenau, - | 88 | 69 | 33 | 78 | 2 | 2 |
| Tristan, - - - - - | 412 | 257 | 13 | 62 | 13 | |
| Flore und Blanscheflur - - | 82 | 54 | 7 | 66 | 22 | 6 |
| Die Gute Frau, - - - - | 86 | 51 | 16 | 59 | 28 | 6 |
| Das Steinbuch, - - - - | 27 | 14 | 14 | 58 | 25 | |
| Der Trojanische Krieg, - - | 351 | 257 | 26 | 73 | 4 | 8 |
| Keiser Otte mit dem Barte, - | 22 | 14 | 18 | 82 | 10 | 9 |
| Alexius, - - - - - | 110 | 95 | 67 | 86 | 6 | 6 |
| Martina, - - - - - | 268 | 217 | 22 | 81 | 6 | 7 |
| Reinfried von Braunschweig, - | 97 | 70 | 7 | 71 | | 21 |
| Peter von Stauffenberg - - | 46 | 34 | 30 | 74 | 4 | 15 |
| b) Upper Alemannic. | | | | | | |
| Der Gute Gerhard - - - | 214 | 197 | 28 | 92 | 1 | 3 |
| Barlaam und Josaphat, - - | 304 | 287 | 28 | 91 | 1 | 3 |
| Johannes Hadlaub, - - | 106 | 53 | 23 | 50 | | 35 |
| **2. Prose.** | | | | | | |
| Altdeutsche Pred. Wack. 1-13,18-20,25 | | 25 | | 100 | | |
| " " " 27-35 | | 26 | | 93 | | |
| " " " 42-52 - | | 26 | | 58 | 15 | 15 |
| Deut. Pred. d. 13 Jahr,,,Griesn. | 53 | 9 | | 17 | 2 | 68 |
| Pred. auf Joh. d. Täufer, Germ.35, 3 | | 1 | | 33 | | 66 |

From the above tables for Alemannic it will be seen that vil continues to be the most common strengthening particle throughout the whole period. In Lower Alemannic monuments, while the percentages are by no means regular, no signs of a general decline in the use of this particle are to be seen. The actual frequency varies from 7 to 67 examples per thousand lines. The work showing the lowest percentage is Das Steinbuch, which is popular in tone. Here the low percentage is caused by the frequency of harte and rehte.(1) The highest percentage for vil, as well as the greatest number of strengthening particles, is found in Alexius. This is largely due to the nature of the material. Alexius, like Hartmann's Gregorius, is a story with little description but full of strong situations and pathetic incidents, and therefore it offers more scope for emphatic expressions.

The two Upper Alemannic monuments from the early part of the thirteenth century, the works of Rudolf von Ems, show few other strengthening particles, and

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

(1) This is also largely a matter of editing. The manuscripts are all from the fifteenth century and show considerable variation as to strengthening particles. H. (Hamburger) occasionally substitutes ser for vil or harte. Dr. (Erfurter Druck) shows a larger per cent of

consequently a high percentage for vil, 91 and 92. The lyric poems of Johannes Hadlaub, from the end of the century, show a decided decline in the percentage of vil, which is here 50, and a corresponding increase in the use of gar, which shows a percentage of 35.

The first three groups of sermons from Wackernagel's edition, which are from the 12th or the early 13th century, show high percentages for vil. Sermons 42-52 which Wackernagel is inclined to place about 1300 (p. 268), show a somewhat lower percentage for vil, or 58. The presence of harte and the low percentage for gar, 15, indicate that this group is probably to be placed much earlier that 1300, at least in the first half of the thirteenth century.

While the lyric poems of Johannes Hadlaub show a low percentage for vil, there is no indication that even in Upper Alemannic vil is as yet becoming obsolete. Poetic diction would doubtless retain a word of this kind long after it had ceased to be current in the spoken language or in the prose literature. It would however remain longest in connection with the more common adjectives and adverbs and in formal expressions. Compare

modern German vielleicht, Vielliebchen. With such it would have the closest connection. If vil at the end of the thirteenth century were on the point of becoming obsolete, we should expect to find its use limited, even in poetic diction, to these more common connections. The examples from Peter von Staufenberg (1310), and Johannes Hadlaub (1302), do not indicate that such is the case. Vil is found here not only in the more frequent associations, such as vil balde, vil dicke, vil gerne, vil guot, vil liep, vil manec, vil schoene, vil wol, etc., but also in those which are not so common: vil ange, vil lôs, vil siech, vil tump, vil valsch, vil genôte, vil zuchteclîche. This shows that vil is still felt as a living element in the language, capable of use in new surroundings and of general application as a strengthener of adjectives and adverbs. The very frequent use of vil in the sermon literature (Wackernagel) for the thirteenth century shows also that it still remained current.

The low percentage for vil (17) in the volume of Grieshaber's deutsche Predigten, and the high percentage for gar (68), probably indicate that these are to be

dated as late as the fourteenth century. Vil here is limited to such common expressions as vil lützel, vil [illegible], vil sêre, vil swaere, vil übel, vil [illegible].

Bavarian-Austrian.

| Bavarian. | Infinitive forms | Endings | Vil after the verb | Percentage | Sec. Parts | Pass. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) Poetical works. | | | | | | |
| Albrecht von Johannsdorf, | 13 | 12 | | 92 | | 8 |
| Wolfdietrich B - - - - | 235 | 228 | 62 | 98 | | 2 |
| Parzival - - - - - | 293 | 186 | 7 | 63 | 14 | 2 |
| Neidhart von Reuenthal - | 93 | 81 | 24 | 87 | 4 | 4 |
| Helmbrecht - - - - - | 46 | 45 | 25 | 99 | | |
| Die Warnung (?) - - - | 83 | 78 | 21 | 94 | 4 | 2 |
| S. Franziskus Leben - - - | 109 | 75 | 15 | 69 | 10 | 10 |
| Der Heilige Georg - - - | 86 | 68 | 11 | 79 | 10 | 7 |
| Der Jüngere Titurel (?) - - | 154 | 136 | 49 | 88 | | 11 |
| Lohengrin - - - - - | 90 | 44 | 9 | 49 | 2 | 39 |
| b) Prose | | | | | | |
| Bertnold von Regensburg - - | 386 | 91 | 63 | 24 | | 73 |

Compare Richard Seuche, "Über den Stil der deutschen alemannischen anonymen Prediger aus dem XIII Jahrhundert"

2. Austrian.

a) Poetical monuments.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Die Hochzeit - - - | 37 | 34 | 31 | 92 | 8 | |
| Genesis - - - - - | 159 | 148 | 39 | 93 | 1 | |
| Exodus - - - - - | 156 | 148 | 99 | 94 | 4 | |
| Die Bücher Mosis - - - | 177 | 168 | 31 | 94 | 4 | |
| Antierist - - - - - | 53 | 49 | 40 | 93 | 2 | 4 |
| Kindheit Jesu - - - | 83 | 62 | 21 | 75 | 13 | 1 |
| Nibelungen A - - - [1] | 1250 | 1000 | 100 | 82 | 8 | |
| " B - - - - " | " | 975 | " | 80 | 7 | |
| " C - - - " | " | 900 | 92 | 75 | 7 | |
| Bieterolf und Dietleib - - | 701 | 636 | 47 | 90 | 6 | |
| Ortnit - - - - - | 126 | 101 | 42 | 80 | 17 | 1 |
| Wolfdietrich A - - - | 250 | 224 | 90 | 90 | 7 | |
| Ortnit and Wolfdietrich C - | 46 | 40 | | 87 | 6 | 2 |
| Kudrun - - - - - | 552 | 444 | 65 | 80 | 11 | |
| Walther von der Vogelweide | 134 | 123 | 26 | 90 | 1 | |
| Karl der Grosse - - - | 344 | 302 | 30 | 90 | 8 | 1 |
| Freddanks Bescheidenheit - | 94 | 83 | 17 | 88 | 7 | 2 |
| Diu Krone - - - - | 395 | 343 | 35 | 88 | 1 | 4 |
| Ulrich von Lichtenstein | 389 | 340 | 48 | 87 | 3 | 3 |
| Garel v. d. blühenden Tal (?) | 338 | 277 | 28 | 82 | 7 | 2 |
| Friedrich von Sonnenburg | 26 | 18 | 21 | 69 | | 24 |
| Alexander - - - - | 101 | 82 | 8 | 81 | 6 | 13 |
| b) Prose | | | | | | |
| Altd. Pred. aus S. Paul. - | 181 | 177 | 43 | 98 | 1 | |

[1] The figures for Nibelungen are approximate

In the Bavarian-Austrian dialect the status of the use of strengthening particles is very complicated, and this is as true of vil as it is of these modifiers in general. This confusion is due largely to the wide extent of territory which is included, for it is at once apparent that no general statement of fact xxxx may be expected to apply to the whole region. Every branch, too, of literature is here represented, and not only do we find every variety of poetic art, but within the same field every degree of poetical skill, from the Parzival to Garel von dem blühenden Tal, and to the senseless interpolations in the Nibelungen and Kudrun. Each of these classes of literature may be expected to have its own traditions as to diction and word usage. The wandering "Spielmann" was doubtless subject to quite another fashion than that to which the writer of the court epic responded.

In the Austrian monuments vil continues to be the most common strengthening particle throughout the whole period. The percentages range from 62 for the lyric poems of Friedrich von Sonnenberg, to 94 for the rimed

versions of Genesis and Exodus. The popular and religious epics of this dialect show a very great use of strengthening particles, greater than any other class of literature in any other dialect. This may be partly due to the nature of the material. Such literature has more to do with action and incidents, less with analysis and characterization than the court epic or the lyric poetry. It is also a mark of the literary skill or lack of skill of the author. This excessive use of strengthening particles is the result of an effort on the part of the popular poet to be impressive. Not trusting to the simple narration of his story to arouse and maintain the interest of his hearers, he intersperses it with frequent emphatic expressions which indicate his own appreciation of what he relates. From this attitude of mind come also such subjective exclamations as <u>ân wie</u>, <u>nel wie</u>, <u>nel waz</u>, etc., calculated to call attention to the important parts of the story.

We may expect to find also in the frequent use of <u>vil</u> and other strengthening particles in this class of Austrian literature a reflection of local popular usage. These words are there, especially in the older monu-

ments because they were current, and current in great numbers in the spoken language. The sermon literature of this dialect shows also a greater frequency of these particles than the prose works of any other dialect. The Altdeutsche Predigten aus S. Paul. show 44 examples per thousand lines, Berthold von Regensburg, 47.

The actual frequency of vil in the poetical monuments as shown by the above list varies greatly. The Nibelungenlied shows about 100 examples per thousand lines, Wolfdierich A 90, Kudrun C6, Ulrich von Eschenbach's Alexander 8. The lyrical works and the court epic show usually the lowest averages. Ulrich von Liechtenstein is exceptional in showing 48 per thousand lines. His use of strengthening particles is however quite in keeping with his style, which is always effusive.

Although the monuments from the end of the century show a considerable decline in the use of vil, there is no evidence that this particle is as yet becoming obsolete. Its use in the prose literature, as well as the class of words to which it is joined, shows that it is still alive in the spoken language. Friedrich von

Lonnenburg represents a locality (Tyrol) where gar has already become quite popular. There is here however no tendency to limit vil to the more common phrases. Nor is there any such tendency to be seen in the Alexander.

The table for Bavarian monuments shows a decided decline in the use of vil by the end of the thirteenth century. Gar comes into prominence here earlier than in Austria, and already in the works of Bertnold von Regensburg forms 73 per cent of all strengthening particles. In poetical diction vil retains its prominence much longer. In Lohengrin (1276-90) it shows a percentage of 49. Here however signs of its going out of fashion are present in the tendency to limit its use to the more common adjectives and adverbs. Nineteen of the 44 examples of vil are with manec.

## Swabian.

| a) Poetical monuments. | Total Reflexes | Gr. Reflexes | Nr. der Reflexe | Percentage | Obl. Reflexe | Obl. ges. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wernhers Maria - - - | 92 | 86 | 34 | 94 | 3 | |
| Bernger von Horneck - | 9 | 9 | 60 | 100 | | |
| Meinloh von Söflingen | 8 | 8 | 48 | 88 | | |
| Heinrich von Rugge - | 25 | 22 | 44 | 88 | | |
| Hartman von Aue - - | 16 | 16 | 32 | 100 | | |
| Frec - - - - - - | 373 | 350 | 33 | 93 | 1 | 2 |
| Erstes Büchlein - - - | 59 | 51 | 26 | 85 | 8 | |
| Gregorius - - - - | 150 | 102 | 25 | 67 | 27 | 1 |
| Armer Heinrich - - - | 81 | 62 | 40 | 71 | 18 | 1 |
| Iwein - - - - - - | 249 | 189 | 23 | 76 | 16 | |
| Zweites Büchlein - - | 15 | 9 | 12 | 60 | 20 | |
| Gottfried von Neifen - | 88 | 78 | 44 | 89 | 1 | 5 |
| Ulrich von Winterstetten | 138 | 117 | 50 | 85 | 4 | 5 |
| Der Marner - - - | 54 | 48 | 32 | 89 | | 10 |
| Rosengarten - - - - | 141 | 101 | | 72 | 4 | 19 |
| Wolfdietrich D - - - | 270 | 240 | 39 | 89 | 5 | 3 |
| b) Prose. | | | | | | |
| Bruder David von Augsburg | 15 | 4 | | 35 | | 74 |

In the Swabian dialect the decline in the use of vil toward the end of the century is only slightly noticeable as far as any direct evidence is at hand. The lowest percentage as well as the lowest actual frequency is shown by the Zweites Büchlein of Hartmann von Aue, where only 12 examples per thousand lines are found, these being 60 per cent of all strengthening particles. The next lowest is Gregorius, which shows a percentage of 68. This is due to the unusually high percentage of harte, which is here 27.

The lyrical monuments and Hartmann's earlier works probably represent the conditions in the current spoken language better than do his later works, where, as far as strengthening particles are concerned, he seems to be more under the influence of literary tradition.

Prose monuments for Swabia are rare during this period. The sermons of Bruder David von Augsburg (1230-1240) show for about 1750 long lines only 4 examples of vil (wol, vîene, geste, liep), 11 of gar, and one of sêre (gar sêre wîelich 12). The works of Bruder David and those of Berthold von Regensburg, with whom David was intimately associated, show a marked difference as

to frequency of strengthening particles, 9 per thousand lines in the former, 47 in the latter. The proportion between vli and gar is in both practically the same. This difference of frequency of these particles may be considered largely a matter of individual style, but no doubt it is due also in part to local differences in usage.

West Middle German.

| | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) Moselfrankish. | | | | | | |
| Vorau Alexander - - - | 54 | 43 | 30 | 80 | 11 | |
| Rolandslied - - - - - | 400 | 375 | 41 | 95 | 4 | |
| König Rother - - - - | 144 | 101 | 20 | 67 | 26 | |
| Orendel - - - - - | 202 | 151 | 38 | 74 | 9 | 7 |
| Strassbueg Alexander - - | 268 | 237 | 32 | 89 | 9 | |
| Sanct Brandan - - - - | 102 | 80 | 40 | 83 | 3 | [illegible] |
| b) Rhinefrankish | | | | | | |
| Friedrich von Hausen - | 17 | 11 | 22 | 65 | 6 | 12 |
| c) Hessian. | | | | | | |
| Athis und Prophilias - - | 36 | 25 | 19 | 69 | 20 | |
| Liet von Troye - - - - | 119 | 46 | 9 | 38 | 53 | 3 |
| Erlösung - - - - - | 124 | 29 | 4 | 23 | 8 | 64 |
| Elisabeth - - - - - | 99 | 34 | 7 | 34 | 1 | 44 |

The table for Moselfrankish monuments, which happen to be all from the latter half of the twelfth century, shows a very frequent use of vil in this dialect, the number of examples ranging from 20 to 41 per thousand lines. The percentages are also high, König Rother, which is the most popular in tone, showing the lowest, 67, the others range from 74 to 95.

The lyrical poems of Friedrich von Hausen show a comparatively low frequency for vil, 22 instances per thousand lines, which are 65 per cent of all particles. Gar appears here with a percentage of 12.

The monuments of the thirteenth century, which are all Hessian in dialect, show a rapidly declining use of this particle. With the exception of the first on the list, Atris und Prophilias, with 19 examples per thousand lines, the instances are rare. The Lied von Troye (1215) shows an average of 9 per thousand lines and a percentage of 38. Die Erlösung (1295) shows a still further decline of vil, as only 4 examples per thousand lines are found and these only 26 per cent of the whole number of such particles.

Elisabeth, of about the same date, shows a larger

number of strengthening particles, and as may perhaps be expected, a somewhat higher percentage for vil, which is here 34. Vil at this time was no doubt the weakest of all the strengthener, and the greater the habit of using such expressions, the greater the proportion of the more insipid ones which would be included. So conversely, a writer who uses such devices only rarely, as Wolfram von Eschenbach, would be more careful in his choice and make a proportionally greater use of those which are stronger.

While the decline of vil in the literary language was earlier and more decided here than in any other dialect, there is no evidence to show that even by the end of the thirteenth century it had become obsolete. In neither Die Erlösung nor Elisabeth is vil limited to the common locutions, but it is joined to words with which it has been by no means frequently associated, vil lentic, ~~vil~~ Erl. 4562, vil gewar Elis. 4765, vil ungetriuwe 1161, vil getriuwe 1722, vil grene 4044. This shows that vil is not yet a fossil element in the language. Yet other particles were however more popular in the literary language throughout the whole cen-

tury, is shown by the tables for harte and gar. In the Liet von Troye (1215) it is harte, which forms 53 per cent of all particles used. In the Erlösung (1295) it is gar, which occurs 80 times and shows a percentage of 64. In Elisabeth, of about the same date, it is gar also, with a percentage of 44. The predominance of gar over vil was doubtless still greater in the spoken language.

| Thuringian. | Total Lines | [illegible] | No. per 1000 lines | Percent of [illegible] | Perc. [illegible] | [illegible] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) Poetical monuments. | | | | | | |
| Heinrich von Morungen - | 43 | 37 | | 85 | | 2 |
| Heinrich und Kunigunde - - | 288 | 214 | 45 | 71 | 2[illegible] | |
| Vater Unser - - - - - | 122 | 90 | 18 | 73 | 2[illegible] | 2 |
| Der Sünden Widerstreit - - | 188 | 125 | 54 | 66 | 18 | 7 |
| Heinrich von Meissen - | 58 | 63 | 73 | 72 | | 24 |
| Tristan - - - - - - | 121 | 43 | 8 | 35 | 4 | 54 |
| b) Prose. | | | | | | |
| Sermons of Eckard, Wackernagel | 55-6 60-1 | 4 | | | | 100 |

In the Thuringian monuments the decline of vil is not apparent so early as in Hessian, but makes itself unmistakably felt by the end of the thirteenth century. Harte is quite popular here in the early part of the century, war takes the lead at the end. Vil, both as to actual frequency, and as to its ratio to the other particles, grows steadily less from Heinrich und Kunigunde (1216) to Heinrich von Freiberg's Tristan(1301-20), with the slight exception of Vater Unser. The tendency to restrict vil to the more common locutions is perceptible in Heinrich von Meissen, evident in Tristan. 43 examples are found in the latter monument in 5000 lines, and of these, 8 are with liep, 6 with lînte,

5 with schiere, 3 each with starke, schône, wol, 2 each with ahec and reine, and the others with getriuwe, kerne, kleln, süeze, swinde, zorn.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| East Frankish. | | | | | | |
| Himelfahrt Mariae - - - | 34 | 27 | | 80 | 17 | |
| Wigalois - - - - - | 377 | 309 | 31 | 82 | 12 | |
| Der Winsbeke und die Winsbekin | 17 | 15 | 12 | 88 | 0 | 12 |
| Der Renner - - - - | 137 | 96 | 18 | 70 | 3 | 25 |
| South Frankish. | | | | | | |
| Moriz von Craon - - - | 56 | 35 | 14 | 62 | 34 | |
| Reinmar von Zweter - - | 130 | 116 | 34 | 89 | 1 | 6 |

In East Frankish monuments no decided decline in the use of vil is seen until the works of Hugo von Trimberg, whose Renner shows kar with a percentage of 25.

In South Frankish the first monument on the list, Moriz von Craon, shows an unusually low percentage for vil, 62. Here harte furnishes 34 percent of all particles. This monument comes from near the border line between South Frankish territory and Alemannic, and Alemannic influence has probably been at work. The percentage for vil is here about the same as for Lower Alemannic works of about the same date. Compare Tristan 62, Fl. und Br. 66.

In the lyric poems of Reinmar von Zweter yil is actually very frequent and the percentage is also high. Perhaps Reinmar represents Austrian usage as to strengthening particles rather than that of his native dialect.

The question as to what words vil may be united with, and whether there is any class of adjectives or adverbs with which other particles are preferably used, is a complicated one. Taking the whole field into consideration, vil seems perfectly capable of modifying any adjective or adverb whatever, and the varying frequency of vil with the different words seems to be about in proportion to the frequency with which the words themselves appear. It is however to be noted, that with certain words, epithets, such as lieb, mêre, reine, süeze, etc., adverbs denoting qualities of mind or feelings, such as gerne, sêre, negative adverbs, kûme, kleine, lützel, selten, tiure, wênec, manec, and some others, it became the fashion not to use such terms unstrengthened; therefore when these words appear they are usually modified by a strengthening particle, generally vil. Such general observations as may be made for particular dialects concerning the preference of one particle over another with certain classes of words, will be found under the discussion of the different particles. The following table however is

given in order that the relative frequency of the different particles with a few of the most common adjectives and adverbs may be seen. The data given are for eight of the most important monuments of the early thirteenth century, well distributed as to dialect. Since the words chosen are the most common ones, they are not those with which the less common strengthening particles are usually found, and the list therefore fails to show the true proportion between the various particles.

| | Rotterdam (Spiegel) | Middelburg (Nationaal) | Zierikzee | Veere | Vlissingen | Sint Laurens (Tijdschrift) | Leuven (Leuven) | Gent (Gent) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| vil balde | 1 | 2 | 3 | - | 1 | . | - | 11 |
| harte " | - | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - |
| wol " | 10 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| al " | - | - | 2 | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| vil gerne | 16 | 30 | 9 | 11 | 3 | - | 2 | 8 |
| harte " | 1 | 4 | - | 6 | - | 1 | - | - |
| genuoc " | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| vil guot | 2 | 20 | 5 | 17 | 4 | 1 | 10 | 16 |
| harte " | 1 | 3 | 2 | - | 2 | 7 | 3 | 1 |
| rehte " | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| genuoc " | - | 1 | - | - | 3 | - | - | 3 |
| sêre " | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| vil grôz | 3 | 15 | 5 | 7 | 26 | 1 | 3 | 24 |
| harte " | 1 | 2 | 1 | - | 4 | 5 | 6 | - |
| vil kûme | 8 | 10 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 1 | - | 7 |
| harte " | - | - | 1 | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| vil kleine | 3 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 1 | - | - | 4 |
| harte " | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | - | - | - |
| vil liep | 12 | 10 | - | 17 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 43 |
| harte " | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | - |
| vil manec | 19 | 36 | 3 | 46 | 40 | 2 | 6 | 21 |
| harte manec | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| genuoc " | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | - |
| wol " | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| vil nâhe | 15 | 22 | 14 | 10 | 6 | - | 1 | 11 |
| harte " | - | 2 | - | 2 | 4 | - | 3 | - |
| sêre " | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| vil rîch | - | 6 | - | 10 | - | - | - | 11 |
| harte " | 1 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - |
| gar " | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| vil schiere | 17 | 26 | 3 | 8 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 9 |
| harte " | 1 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - |
| gar " | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| vil sêre | 7 | 35 | 1 | 18 | 11 | - | 5 | 17 |
| harte " | 13 | 3 | - | 8 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| gar " | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| vil süeze | 12 | 4 | - | 1 | 8 | - | 3 | 21 |
| harte " | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| rente " | 5 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| vil wol | 24 | 60 | 13 | 23 | 19 | 0 | 35 | 25 |
| harte " | 13 | 25 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 0 | - |
| rente " | - | 2 | - | - | 2 | - | - | 1 |
| genuoc " | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |

Harte.

Harte as a strengthening particle plays an important part during this period. It is usually assumed[1] that the development in meaning from harte, OHG harto, the modifier of verbs, and meaning with force, to harto the indefinite strengthening particle was brought about by the use of the word with participles, that is, while originally only a modifier of verbs, the word came to be applied to participles used as adjectives, and then extended to other adjectives and adverbs. As different stages pointing to such a development, Kip gives the following:

a) with participles used adjectively,

der harte stôzende ram, V.M. 61-14,

b) with adjectives and adverbs derived from verbs, or closely related to verbs in form,

vil harte erchomelîcho, Ex. 544, (to erkomen)

c) in constructions where there is doubt as to whether it modifies a verb or a substantive idea, wachet wân der tievel der da ist harte lur widerwarte, Phys. 85-12.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

(1) Kip, page 168.

As a support to this theory we naturally look to see whether harte is actually found frequently united with participial adjectives, and other adjectives derived from verbs, or similar to verbs in form. If such has been the development we should expect to find, at least in the earlier monuments, harte in the greater number of instances joined to such words. That this is not the case can be readily seen from the list given by Kip of the examples from the religious poetry of the 11th and 12th centuries. Of the 72 instances cited only six: harte erbarmeclich, harte erchomenlîche, harte riuwec, harte sorclich, harte unberihtet, harte vorntsam, may be reasonably connected with any verbs, and even here the connection is often but slight. Turning to the list of examples of harte as a verb modifier, we are also surprised at the small number of instances where it is connected with a participial construction. Of the 216 examples, only 20, or less than 9 per cent are found as modifiers of participles, either past or present.

Turning to an older period of the language, we find that Otfrid uses harto 84 times as a strengthener of

(1) See the dictionary of Piper, where however several instances are lacking.

adjectives and adverbs. Here also very little trace of a verbal idea is to be found in the words with which harto is connected. The list includes 25 instances with filu, 7 with mihil, 4 with manag, 3 with scîn, 3 with mêr (compar.), 2 with seltsaeni, 2 with mera, 2 with ungimah. With only three of the whole number, bîzenti, scîn, and firdan, is there any verbal association, either direct or indirect. As a modifier of verbs, harto is found 124 time in Otfrid, and of this number only 10 are instances of harto with participles, or less than 8 per cent. Instead of being used preferably with participles, and participial adjectives, harto seems to be avoided in such connection.

If we may judge xx from the actual facts as to OHG harto, it is very improbable that the word owes its function as a strengthening particle to its frequent use with participles, or that it passed from a modifier of verbs to a modifier of adjectives and adverbs by way of the participial adjective. If the latter usage is not as old as the former, it is at least as fundamental, and implies a certain degree of independence. Perhaps we may better look for the origin of the use of

this word as a strengthener of adjectives and adverbs in the law of association of ideas. The metaphorical nature of the use of strengthening particles has been previously referred to. In such expressions as harto illu, harto manag, the attribute of one class of objects or ideas is asserted of another, for the purpose of forming, that it may be longer retained, a more striking picture.

It is natural, for instance, to associate the idea of power or strength with the ideas of size, quantity, or extent. A host of common English and German expressions are evidence of this fact. Compare a mighty lot, mighty large, powerful great, mächtig gross, ungeheur viel, and MHG starke breit und grôz, starke lanc, starke tief.

The fact that in Otfrid 50 per cent of the examples of harto are united with adjectives or adverbs expressing size, quantity, distance, etc., and that during the MHG period it is so frequently found with such words, and seems actually to survive longest in such connection, all justify the conclusion that this was the original feeling when harte was used as a strengthening

modifier. It is but a step from harte vil to harte kleine, harte lützel, or from harte verre to harte unverre. These expressions, which are very common in MHG, preserve the feeling that harte is appropriate for ideas of quantity, though the direction is reversed.

There is another class of ideas with which the notion of power or force (harto, vehementer) is easily and naturally associated. These are subjective, and have to do with the attitudes of the mind and especially the feelings. Sometimes they denote actions or judgments of the mind, and here the connection with the use of harte as a modifier of verbs is closer. Compare harte with such verbs as betrüeben, erbarmen, ervurhten, jâmern, klagen, minnen, müelen, nîden, riuwen, schamen, sênden, smerzen, sorgen, trûren, trûwen, vrôuwen, vurhten, wundern, zwîveln. Such examples are frequent in both Old and MHG, and form the largest class of verbs with which harte is united, as may be seen from Kip's list. Thus we may account for the frequency in MHG of such combinations as harte wol, harte gerne, harte sêre, harte frô, harte schoene, harte süeze, harte guot, starke frô, starke leit, starke holt, etc. The same

principle is at work in certain colloquial English expressions: mighty glad, mighty fine, mighty bad, (Eastern), powerful nice, powerful handy, powerful sick, even powerful weak (Southern).

Perhaps the tendency to associate harte with adjectives and adverbs in -lich, which shows itself strongly in certain parts of the MHG field, is to be referred to this principle. The subjective element in the statement, for instance, that an action or a thing is ritterlich, like a knight, is large. English, a strong resemblance, strikingly similar, may be compared.

As to the different classes of adjectives and adverbs with which harte is actually associated during the period in question, we may note:

a) Those expressing quantity, extent or time or space, etc., breit, grôz, hôhe, kleine, kûme, kurz, lanc, lützel, manec, michel, nâhen, rinke, verre, unverre, unhôch, unlanc, vol, wîte, wênic.

b) Those which express a good or desirable quality: billîch, biderbe, êrlîchen, friuntlîchen, gerne, guot, hêtelîche, hêrlîch, kluoc, kunecliche, meisterlîche, lobelîche, milde, süeze, rente, ritterlîche, rîch,

staete, frô, froelîche, wol, minneclîch, vrum, wîs, zuhteclîchen, zierlîch, etc.

c) Those expressing an undesirable quality: angestlîche bitterlîche, êgebar, grimmeclîchen, griuwelîche, jâmerlîche, klâgelîche, lasterlîchen, leit, mîsselîch, unwerne, nôtlîch, riwîch, sorklîche, senedelîche, sêre, swaere, unsuoze, ungezogenlîche, ungemach, unsenftecliîch, trûrec, vreislîchen, wê, wunt, zornec.

d) Adjectives and adverbs of a kindred meaning: kreftecliîche, lûte, vaste, stark, wilde.

e) Those of opposite meaning: krank, lîse, sanfte, swach, stille.

f) Those of time, frequency, etc.: vrue, spâte, dicke, selten, (not ofte), nâch, swinde, schiere.

With certain words harte has not been found: arm, edel, ebene, gevuoge, genêgec, geniure, novelîche, teilec, inneclîche, muede, ofte, küene, rûsevar, saelec, saeleclîche, saeldenbaere, sânde, stolz, schâmelîche, schantlîche, tugentlîche, wîplîchen, wearlîchen. With others, kiusche, lîer, reine, tûmen, werdeclîch, only in Middle German and here only rarely.

Many of these are frequently recurring words in the court epic, and are essentially a part of the diction of this class of literature. The absence of *harte* with these words then, would indicate either the popular origin of this particle, and the feeling that it is more properly a part of the common speech, or at least that it had ceased to be current in the more elevated style, or was confined to certain locutions, at the time when the court epic was developing.

| Harte, Alemannic. | No. of the verses | No. of the examples of harte | No. of the examples of hart | Occurrences of the form harte |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Poetical monuments. | | | | |
| a) Lower Alemannic: | | | | |
| Reinmar von Hagenau, - | 88 | 3 | | 2 |
| Tristan, - - - - - | 412 | 65 | 3 | 13 |
| Flore und Blanscheflur, - - | 82 | 18 | 2 | 22 |
| Die Gute Frau, - - - - | 86 | 24 | 8 | 28 |
| Das Steinbuch, - - - - | 27 | 6 | 6 | 22 |
| Der Trojanische Krieg, - | 351 | 14 | 1 | 4 |
| Keiser Otte, - - - - | 22 | 2 | 3 | 10 |
| Alexius, - - - - - | 110 | 6 | 4 | 6 |
| Martina, - - - - - | 268 | 17 | 2 | 6 |
| Reinfried von Braunschweig, - | 97 | | | |
| Peter von Stauffenberg, - - | 46 | 2 | | 4 |
| b) Upper Alemannic: | | | | |
| Der Gute Gerhard, - - - | 214 | 2 | | 1 |
| Barlaam und Josaphat, - - | 304 | 4 | | 1 |
| Johannes Hadlaub, - - | 106 | 0 | | |
| 2. Prose. | | | | |
| Altd. Predigt. Wack. 42-52 - | 26 | 4 | | 15 |
| Pred. d. 13 Jahr. (Griesbacher) | 55 | 1 | | 2 |

From the above table it will be seen that the lyric poems of Reimar show few examples of _harte_, and a remarkably low percentage for their place on the list. The two monuments which show the greatest actual frequency, and at the same time the highest percentages for this particle, Die Gute Frau, and Das Steinbuch, are popular in tone. Aside from these, a gradual decline is shown in the use of _harte_ throughout the thirteenth century. The percentage for Tristan is lower than that for the monument immediately following, although the actual examples are more frequent. Der Troj. Krieg shows a lower percentage than would be expected. The actual frequency of _harte_ in Alexius is greater than in Kaiser Otte, though the percentage is less.(1) This is due to the great use of _vil_ in this monument, which has been referred to under the discussion of that particle. Peter von Stauffenberg shows only two examples, both of which are _harte vrô_, one of the most common of combinations with _harte_, which may be considered at this late date as merely formal.

By the end of the thirteenth century, _harte_ in Lower

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

(1) Compare Hartmann's Gregorius, which is a similar story, and where _harte_ is unusually frequent.

Alemannic has practically disappeared from the literary language.

In Upper Alemannic, the examples from the works of Rudolf von Ems, which are from the early part of the century, are rare, constituting only about one per cent of all particles used. The lyric poems of Johannes Hadlaub, from the end of the century, show none.

An interesting question at this point is the relation between the use of this word in epic poetry and its use in the popular idiom, or spoken language. The prose works of this dialect which have been examined show few strengthening particles and only rare instances of harte. Under such conditions, the absence of harte from the xxxxx sermon literature of the latter half of the thirteenth century would not necessarily prove that the particle was no longer current in the spoken language. A conclusion may however be reached by a consideration of the different words with which harte is found associated. Aside from the different classes of these words with which it is possible, it will be in order to consider the individual adjectives and adverbs with which it is joined, and see whether

they are limited in number, or whether harte may be used in any connection whatsoever. If the former is found to be true, it would indicate that harte has ceased to be considered an active element in the language. If the combinations with harte axe xa in the court epic are so few in number that they may be considered as mere fossil remnants , we may conclude that they are there only as a part of quaint poetical diction, and that the particle has disappeared from the popular spoken language.

In all the poetical monuments of this dialect examined, 156 examples of harte have been found, or outside of Tristan, which dates from the beginning of the century, and which shows thegreatest number of examples and the greatest variety of combinations, only 91. These 156 examples of harte were united with 70 different adjectives and adverbs, 53 of which are found in Tristan, 37 others in the rest of the material, counting such pairs of derivatives as groz- grietlich,etc., as one word. The number of words with which harte is joined in Alexander is thus seen to be limited. In Tristan the ratio of the number of such words to the

number of instances of parte is almost evenly 1 to 2, in all other works, 1 to somewhat more than 2 1-2.

From the following table the actual figures for the different monuments may be seen.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Reimar - - - - - | 3 | 3 |
| Tristan - - - - - | 65 | 33 |
| Flore und Blanscheflur - - | 18 | 13 |
| Die Gute Frau - - - - | 24 | 17 |
| Das Steinbuch - - - - | 6 | 5 |
| Der Troj. Krieg - - - - | 14 | 13 |
| Keiser Otte - - - - | 2 | 2 |
| Martina - - - - - | 16 | 10 |
| Reinfried von Braunschweig - | 0 | |
| Peter von Staufenberg - - | 2 | 1 |
| Der Gute Gerhard - - - | 2 | 2 |
| Barlaam und Joasaphat - - - | 4 | 4 |

It is perhaps futile to offer any theory as to the comparative number of combinations which might be expected from long and short poems. In general, relatively fewer occur to appear in the longer works. It is somewhat surprising then to note that, while the first 10,000 lines of Tristan show only 14 combinations

with harte, 19 new ones are found in the last 9552 lines. This may be taken however to indicate that the word was in more general use at this time than later in the century. The following list gives the more usual combinations with harte in Alemannic, arranged in order of frequency: harte wol 22 times, sêre 19, frô 6, kleine 5, unlang 5, vil 5, zrôz 4, starke 4, schône 4, fremde 3, guot 3, michel 3, swore 3, wunderlîch 3, meine 3, kurz 2, lîhte 2, kûme 2, nâhen 2, scharfe 2, werte.

In the 11 examples from the last three Lower Alemannic monuments on the list, representing the end of the century, no new combinations with harte appear, but all are examples of frequently recurring and well known phrases: harte balde, fremde, frô, lîhte, michel, swore, swaere, verre, wunderlîchen, vil, zorn. While harte with balde, fremde, michel, and swaere are not actually found elsewhere in Alemannic, a comparison with Middle German and Bavarian usage shows that these were old and familiar combinations. The others are frequent in Alemannic. From the three works of Konrad von Würzburg from the middle of the century, 24 examples of harte are noted on the above list. Not one of these is a new

combination, all of them appearing either in early Alemannic works or in early monuments from other dialects. This is in marked contrast to the state of affairs as to vil, gar, or any particle in good current usage. With these, each new monument brings examples of new words with which the particle is joined.

These considerations lead to the conclusion that during the thirteenth century harte as a strengthening particle is gradually becoming obsolete in Alemannic. In epic poetry the word lived on in the more common locutions long after it had gone out of general use, and the examples from the latter part of the century are to be regarded as fossil remnants of an older and more general usage. They here make up a part of traditional diction, which is preserved longer in the court epic than in other forms of literature

In Upper Alemannic, if we may judge from the works of Rudolf von Ems, harte was never so common, and here it disappeared earlier.

The question naturally arises in this connection, do metrical considerations have anything to do with the choice of a strengthening particle. It might be suspected that where there was room in a line for a two

syllable word, *harte* or *rente* would be selected, if however a single syllable were needed to fill out the line *vil* or *har* would be chosen. It would seem for instance, that in the case of *vil frô*, or *harte frô*, both of which are of common occurrence, the author of Wigalois used a strengthening particle, in the following lines, according as he had room for one or not in the line, and that he chose *vil* or *harte* without discrimination except as regards the metrical length of the word.

si lachten unde wâren frô, 105-23.

des was her Wîgalois vil frô, 91-11.

des wart die maget harte frô, 72-5.

Rudolf von Ems, however, while using *harte* with other adjectives, avoids it with *vrô*, and uses other means of filling out his lines. Compare the following from Barlaam und Josaphat:

des maht du lerner wesen vrô, 13-29.

der herre was der rede vrô, 15-37.

des was ich herzelîche vrô, 17-32.

der vater was des kindes vrô, 20,20.

siner kunfte was er vrô, 109-22.

daz sie mit im wâren vrô, 109-[illegible].

So in Der Gute Gerhard:

von mir des bin ich leider vrô,

des lieben trôstes was ich vrô, 6267,

des was min werdiu vrouwe vrô, 6311.

die ritterschaft begunde dô

im ritterscheite wesen vrô, 6397-8.

In these latter examples signs of mere line filling are so apparent, and harte suggests itself so readily, that its avoidance is striking. We must assume that this combination is unknown at this time to the poets dialect.

## Bavarian-Austrian.

### I. Bavarian.

#### a) Poetical monuments.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Parzival, - - - - | 298 | 41 | 2 | 14 |
| Neidhart von Reuentnal (?) - | 93 | 4 | 1 | 4 |
| Wolfdietrich B,(1) - - - | 235 | 1 | | |
| Helmbrecht - - - - - | 46 | 1 | | 2 |
| Die Warnung (?) - - - | 85 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| St. Franziskenleben - - - | 109 | 11 | 2 | 10 |
| Die [illegible] - - - | 86 | 9 | 2 | 0 |
| Der Jüngere Titurel (?) - - | 154 | | | |
| Lohengrin - - - - - | 90 | 2 | | 2 |

#### b) Prose.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Berthold von Regensburg - - | 366 | 0 | | |
| Altdeutsche Pred. Wack. 21-26 - | 6 | 0 | | |

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

(1) Mss. K and H read: ôi seni ûrent auff gar balde ir reysenes gezelt (gar schône H). Jänicke reconstructs: harte rîlîche sluoc man ûf diu gezelt. In view of the rare occurrence of harte in this monument it is probable that gar was the original particle used.

| | Total | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2. Austrian. | | | | |
| a) Poetical monuments. | | | | |
| Die Hochzeit - - - - - | 47 | 3 | 4 | 8 |
| Genesis - - - - - | 159 | 2 | | 1 |
| Exodus - - - - - | 156 | 6 | | 4 |
| Die Bücher Mosis - - - - | 177 | 7 | 3 | 4 |
| Antichrist - - - - - | 56 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Kindheit Jesu - - - - | 83 | 11 | | 15 |
| Nibelungenlied, Version A -c.1150 | 62 | 10 | | 9 |
| " " B - - | 82 | 9 | | 7 |
| " " C - - | 71 | 7 | | 7 |
| Biterolf und Dietleib - - - | 761 | 40 | 3 | 6 |
| Ortnit - - - - - | 126 | 22 | 9 | 17 |
| Wolfdietrich A - - - - | 250 | 17 | 7 | 7 |
| Ortnit aus Wolfdietrich C - | 46 | 3 | | 6 |
| Kudrun - - - - - - | 552 | 62 | 9 | 11 |
| Walther von der Vogelweide | 154 | 1 | | 1 |
| Karl der Grosse - - - - | 344 | 27 | 3 | 8 |
| Freidanks Bescheidenheit - - | 94 | 7 | 1 | 7 |
| Diu Krone - - - - - | 195 | 5 | | 3 |
| Ulrich von Liechtenstein - | 389 | 13 | 2 | 5 |
| Garel (?) - - - - - | 318 | 22 | 2 | 7 |
| Friedrich von Sonnenburg - | 26 | 0 | | |
| Alexander - - - - - | 101 | 6 | | 6 |

b) Prose.

Altd. Ired. aus S. Paul, - 181 [illegible]

The tables for Bavarian-Austrian show a great confusion in the use of _harte_ in this dialect. The most striking feature, however, is that those monuments which show the highest percentages belong for the most part to the popular or religious epic. They are Orthnit Kindheit Jesu, Kudrun, Nibelungen, Wolfdietrich A, Parzival shows also a very high percentage, though the actual frequency is not so great, 2 examples per thousand lines.

The lyrical work here also show few examples of _harte_: Albrent von Johannsdorf and Friedrich von Sonnenburg none, Walther 1, Neidhart 4. Ulrich von Lichtenstein, whose works are partly lyrical, shows 15.

Next to the early popular epic and the prose monuments, lyric poetry may be expected to show the most accurately local usage as to strengthening particles. This will appear more plainly in the case of _gar_, perhaps less so with _harte_, which always appears to be more or less in disfavor with lyric writers. _harte_

seems to lack the elegance of such particles as *ernte* and *war*, and these latter are apparently preferred wherever they are current, and when a stronger particle than *vil* is desired. The absence of *harte* from the works of Berthold von Regensburg, Bruder David von Augsburg, and Dr. v. Sonnenburg doubtless indicates that there was a wide stretch of territory through Southern Bavaria, Swabia, and Tyrol, where from the middle of the thirteenth century on, and probably much earlier, *harte* was unknown to the popular dialect. The statistics for Upper Alemannic indicate the same for the neighboring Swiss provinces. Throughout this whole territory *war* was very popular at this time. Throughout the territory farther east, Carinthia, Styria, Austria proper, as shown by the works of Ulrich von Lichtenstein, the Predigten aus d. Paub., Helmbrecht, and the Austrian popular epics, *harte* remained current much longer. *War* here is scarcely known, even in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. In northern Bavaria and Bohemia, *harte* was also very popular, and continued current until late, as might be expected from the proximity to East Franklan, and Thuringia. Compare the

statistics for Parzival, Willehalm, and Alexander.

In the epic poetry of the latter part of the thirteenth century, territorial distinctions as to the use of Garte, and indeed as to diction in general, are no longer felt. Nor are the stylistic differences between the court and the popular epic so apparent. By this time the two classes of literature had approached so closely as to intermingle, and what of form and diction had originally belonged only to the one or the other, now became common property. Just as the different incidents and episodes from the works of the earlier court poets were freely made use of by the writers of the declining epic, so words, phrases, and whole periods, from one class of literature, were appropriated by the less talented writers of other classes.

This universal custom of borrowing applies no doubt to a less degree to strengthening particles, which are always more or less unconsciously used, but it still has to be taken into account even with these, especially in epic poetry. This it is that makes it so difficult to locate geographically or chronologically such expressions. These borrowings are not nearly so gener-

al among lyric writers, and in the early popular epic much less marked than in the later. These therefore offer a more reliable criterion for local usage that the later court epic.

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(1) The examples of harte in the Kudrun offer strong evidence of the presence of this particles in the popular dialect of Austria at the time the present version was produced, as contrasted with the dialect of the original. Various efforts have been made to separate the original elements of the poem from those parts which belong only to the Austrian redaction (See Martin's introduction to his edition, and Wilmanns, Die Entwickelung der Kudrun Dichtung) Those strophes which are generally considered as belonging to the original version or versions show examples of harte only rarely: harte lîse 668-4, harte sêre 995-3, harte balde 1361-3. On the other hand, a very frequent use of this particle is found in those strophes which are looked upon as interpolations or contaminations of older material. 59 of the 62 examples of harte are found in such strophes. The author of the Austrian version evidently used those strengthening particles which were current in his own dialect.

In the Nibelungen no such difference is to be noticed between the so-called original stanzas of Lachmann and those of later origin. 63 percent of the examples of harte are from the original stanzas, 37 per cent from all others. A striking fact, however, concerning the use of harte here, is that more than 50 per cent of all instances are from the last line of the stanza, generally the last half line, which has four accents. This might be the result of mere line filling on the part of the original author, or, perhaps in some instances, of an attempt of an interpolator to make a four accent line out of one which originally had only three(Compare Heusler, Altdeutsche Verskunst, page ). Other monuments of a similar strophic form show different statistics in this regard. In Kudrun 40 per cent of all examples of harte are from the last line of the stanza, in Ortnit and Wolfdietrich A about 19, Wolfd. D about 20.

The evidence for the gradual disappearance of harte as a strengthening particle from the spoken dialect is as strong here is in Alemannic. In Bavaria this takes place earlier than in the Austrian provinces. This is shown by the absence of the particle in the works of Berth. v. Regensburg, as compared with the examples from the Predigten aus St. Paul. The fact that in Bavaria gar appears so prominently in the popular speech, renders the disappearance of harte at an early stage the more probable. In the epic poetry the tendency to restrict harte to the commonest locutions is apparent from the middle of the century. Garel shows 22 examples which are found with vrô, gâch, grôz, meisterlich, rîch, ringe, sêre, seltsaen, soresam, tiwer, unhôch, veste, vruo. Ulrich von Lichtenstein shows harte with vil, vruo, vrô, gerne, hôhe, kleine, kranc, swach, wênec. In Bavarian, Lohengrin shows harte wol and harte weidenlich. This is evidence that this particle is not felt as a living element in the language.

The following list shows the more frequent combinations with harte in Bavarian-Austrian monuments, in order of frequency. The figures in parentheses show the

number of occurrences noted outside of the three Nibelungen versions.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| harte sêre | 48 | (30) | harte lange | | (7) |
| " wol | 30 | (27) | " swaere | 6 | (5) |
| " vil | 25 | (16) | " dicke | 7 | |
| " vrô | 22 | (14) | " nâmen | 6 | |
| " balde | 21 | (5) | " selten | 6 | (3) |
| " grôz | 21 | (10) | " unmaezlich | | (6) |
| " leit | 22 | (2) | " breit | 5 | |
| " kleine | 16 | (10) | " güetlich | 6 | (1) |
| " guot | 15 | (10) | " ritterlich | 5 | |
| " schiere | 14 | (7) | " tiure | 5 | (4) |
| " gerne | 14 | (12) | " trûrec | 5 | (1) |
| " vroelîchen | 13 | (1) | " wê | 5 | (2) |
| " hêrlich | 12 | (1) | " jâmerlich | 4 | (1) |
| " wênec | 10 | (6) | " kûme | 4 | |
| " verre | 10 | (6) | " wîte | 4 | |
| " nôhe | 10 | (3) | " vîzecîchen | 3 | |
| " groezlich | 9 | (4) | " loselîchen | 3 | |
| " lûte | 9 | (4) | " lützel | 3 | (1) |
| " swinde | 9 | (5) | " minneclich | 3 | (1) |
| " gâch | 7 | | " vruo | 4 | (3) |

Swabian

a) Poetical monuments.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wernhers Maria - - - | 92 | 3 | | 3 |
| Erec - - - - - - - | 373 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Erstes Büchlein - - - | 59 | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| Gregorius - - - - - | 150- | 40 | 10 | 27 |
| Armer Heinrich - - - - | 81 | 15 | 10 | 18 |
| Iwein - - - - - - - | 249 | 41 | 5 | 16 |
| Zweites Büchlein - - - | 15 | 3 | 4 | 20 |
| Gottfried von Neifen - - | 88 | 1 | | 1 |
| Ulrich von Winterstetten - - | 138 | 5 | | 4 |
| Rosengarten - - - - - | 141 | 6 | | 4 |
| Wolfdietrich D[4] - - - - | 270 | 14 | | 5 |

b) Prose

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

(4) Wolfdietrich D while a Swabian version probably represents the traditional Austrian use of strengthening particles rather than Swabian, following in this regard the other earlier versions of the same legend.

The above list for Swabian shows a very extended use of *parte* by Hartmann von Aue. The Gregorius and Armer Heinrich each show 10 examples per thousand lines, a degree of frequency only reached by the Nibelungen, Iwet von Troye, Heinrich und Kunigunde, and Moriz von Craon. The percentages are also high, 27 and 20. Only Flore und Planscheflur (28), Moriz von Craon (34), Iwet von Troye (53) show a higher. Gottfried von Neifen has *harte minneclich* 37-21, Ulrich v. Winl. shows *parte* with *senedelich* 2-14, *wol* 5-7, *ringe* 14-14, *kleine* 24-15, 31-23. The Rosengarten shows *harte* with *wol*, *grôz*, *vrô*, *ritterlich*, and *sêre*.

The nature of these examples from the lyrical works and Rosengarten is such that we may consider them, especially for the last half of the thirteenth century, merely as a part of the general traditional language. There is no evidence that *parte* was at this time a part of the Swabian popular speech. The sermons of Bruder David von Augsburg (ZfdA 9, 8-35.) show no traces of it. Berthold von Regensburg, who spent much of his time in traveling and preaching in Swabia, does not use it. Further prose monuments for this dialect and period are

not at hand, but there is no reason to suppose that the conditions as to strengthening particles here differ in any marked degree from those in Bavaria. The absence of this particles from the sermons of Berthold is significant. Berthold's diction is very popular, and unlike Bruder David, he uses strengthening particles very freely. Frequently he has occasion to double them in order to gave the desired degree of emphasis, as vil unde vil baz II 20-8, gar unde gar schedelîchen I 120-8 If harte had been possible we should expect Berthold to have used it. In about 375 examples of such particles however, harte does not once appear.

The interesting fact which appears from the above table is the great difference in the frequency of harte in Erec and the other works of Hartmann.(1) Only four examples of this particle are found in Erec: harte sêre 484, wol 1009, vil 3455, frô 4861. Haupt, in his edition, assumes that the small number of examples of harte here are to be explained by the lateness of the manuscript (Ambraser 1504), or at least he makes an attempt

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(1) Vos, Diction and Rime-technic of Hartmann von Aue, pp. 20, 69, where this difference of usage is first noticed.

at reconstruction by changing *war* in a few instances to *harte*.[1] The frequency of *harte* however in other works preserved in the same manuscript, Moriz von Craon, Kudrun, Bit. und Diet., Kön. Rother, Heinbrent, shows that there has been no serious attempt to replace obsolete strengthening particles with those that were current.[2]

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

(1) See Vos note p.20; Haupt, note to line 5500.
(2) In the case of the Nibelungen and Iwein a conscious attempt seems to have been made to substitute another particle for *harte*, in both cases *vast*. Bartsch Germ. X 44, notices this for the Nibelungen. The passages are 1526-4 *harte balde* = *vast balde* d (Ambraser Hs.) 1479-2 h. *groz* = *vast grôz* d, 85-3 h. *guot* = *vast guot* d 1279-41 h. *herlichen* = *vast* h. d, 1183-11 h. *lute* = *vast* l. d, 643-2 h. *vil* = *vast* v. d, 1647-21 h. *wol* = *vast* w. d.

In Iwein, according to Henrici's variant readings, the following differences are noted: 6833 *harte war*= *heer wer* d, 7238 *harte lange* = *also lange* d, 3514 *harte* ~~xxxxxxxx~~ *rîches* = *riterlîches* d, 2799 h. *unwîplich* =*vast* u. d, 6050 h. *verre* = *vast* v. d, 1029 h. *vil* = *vast* v. d, 1943 h. *wol* = *vast* w. d, 6271 h. ~~xxxx~~ *wol*= *genug wol* d.

In the case of Erec no attempt has been made certainly to substiture *vaste* for *harte*, since only one instance of it occurs, *vaste serone* 1536.

*Vast* as a strengthening particle has been found elsewhere only in the Austrian epic: Parzival, *vaste frô* 395-16, Kudrun *vaste gerne* 410-1, 1456-4 *vast an*, Bit. und Diet. *vaste guot* 1060, *vaste für* 3566, ~~xxx~~. Wolfd. A *vaste dicke* 252-2.

These changes then which the Ambraser manuscript shows in the case of the Nibelungen and Iwein cannot have been introduced by the scribe. They date no doubt from some earlier Austrian copyist.

It is perhaps significant that the four words with which harte is joined in the Ambraser manuscript of Erec, wol, êre, irô, vil, are just the four which in upper German were most commonly found with this particle. This restriction of harte to these old and well known locutions would ordinarily indicate that the word had ceased to be felt as a general strengthening particle. It is then all the more curious that in Hartmanns later works this particle is not only very frequent, but joined very freely to different classes of adjectives and adverbs.(1) The following are the examples of harte with parallel examples from other, mostly upper German monuments :

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

(1) A comparison of the lines containing harte in Erec and Iwein with the corresponding passages in the works of Chretien de Troyes shows that Hartmann in the use of this particle is not following anything in his original. Chretien uses as strengthening particles: torment, equivalent to harte, torment an fu joiaz et liez, Erec 572; mout, equivalent to vil, une mout bele collaiture, Erec 14; tres, OHG grâto, ne vuel pas que vos ameraingniez battaille si tres felenesse, Erec 3734; par, OHG fram, qui tant par est bele a merveille, Erec 356; assez (genuoc),, assez plus que lit ne vos si, Iwein 6745.

Hartmann does not follow his original so closely as to render these particles directly into their German equivalents. Aside from his free treatment of the material, considerations of rime and metrics would make a literal translation well nigh impossible.

Harte balde Iw. 125, Parz. 124-23.
" grâte Iw. 208, 247, Sünd. Wid. 1584.
" gar Iw. 280, Erlûs. 4689.
" gerne Iw. 61, 246, 292, A. H. 213, Kud. 1173-4.
" grôz Gr.2163, AH 213, Kud. Nib. 450-2.
" guot Iw.37, Gr.1549, AH 1218, Parz. 70-7.
" kleine Gr.3124,3660, AH 697, Parz. 529-14.
" klagelîchen Iw. 194, b. klagebaere Iw. 253, Kudr.[illegible]
" lûtzel Iw. 139, Nib. 1489-4.
" lange Iw.265, Nib.848-2.
" lîse Gr.358, Kud.668-4
" lobebaere Gr.1818, lobelîche Kud.1103-2.
" manec Erst. B. 697, Ex. 137-16.
" nôt Gr. 584, Wig.114-11. 27-5
" riuwevar Iw.182, Gr.428, 2327, riuwec Gr.2529, Gen
" ringe Iw.145, Nib.254-4.
" rîch Iw.134, Gr.2033, Kud.1108-2.
" schône Iw.88, schoene Iw.169, Gr.3281, 3379, AH 1375, Parz. 236-22.
" staete Iw.288, Gr.2184, Kud.19-4.
" sanfte Iw.132, Sünd. Wider. 2533.
" schiere Iw.147, Gr.2330, Parz.35-6.
" sêre Iw. 211, Erst. B. 861, Gr. 236, Kud.995-3.
" spâte Gr.2812, Kud.1274-1.
" stârclîche Gr.3829, starke Gr.1765, Bit.u.Diet.9202
" swâre Erst. B. 1415, Nib. 1176-2.
" schâdelîche Gr.1278, Bit.u.Diet.1425.
" unsanfte Erst. B.298, Kud.489-4.
" unsuoze Gr.3452, Vom jüngst. Ger.Diemer 290-4.
" ungelîche Zw. B. 172, Bücher Mosis 68-11.
" veste Iw.165, Garel 8510.
" vremde Iw.263, Ex.120-9.
" verre Iw.46,221,223, AH 928, Kud.702-4.
" vrô Iw.210, Gr.2532, 3075, 3326, Nib. 275-2.
" vil Iw.47,111,196,230, Gr.2321,3778, Nib. 353-2.
" vrum Gr.1886, Kön. Rotn. 4148.
" wol Iw. 43 etc. Nib. 772-2.
" wîs Gr.491, Hein.u.Kun.313.
" wilde Iw.25, Tristan 15969.
" zierlîch Iw.30, Nib.733-4II.
" zornlîche Iw.172, Nib.826-4II.

Harte with the following words has been found only with Hartmann: karelîchen Gr. 2106, ~~müezecîchen AH 1220~~ milte Iw. 261, strenge Gr. 3020, unwiplich Iw. 92, unmügelich AH 189.

From the above list it may be seen that nearly every instance of harte in Hartmann can be paralleled from the Austrian popular epic. Certain combinations at this time seem to belong exclusively to the popular daction, harte lützel, lîse, lobelîchen, rîch. Many of the examples from the above list have not been paralleled from Alemannic writers, as harte with: drâte, lîse, lobebaere, riuwich, sanfte, staete, spâte, starke schadelîche, zierlich, verre.

These facts seem to indicate that Hartmann was influenced in his later works by the Bavarian-Austrian usage as shown in the popular epic and Parzival. It is not necessary to assume that this influence came directly from these popular works, some of them being perhaps later than Hartmann's. The same local usage however that made itself felt in the popular epic evidently had its influence on Hartmann. If this be true, it would be natural to suppose that in his earliest work, Erec,

written no doubt before his undertaking the crusade, and before he had come in contact to any great extent with the class of literature prevalent in Bavaria and Austria, this influence would be absent.[1] Hartmann's use of strengthening particles then in Erec would be, to a much greater extent, a reflection of the local usage in Swabia.[2]

Another sign of Austrian influence upon Hartmann in his later works is his use of the particle starke. This word as a strengthener of adjectives and adverbs has been found only in the works of Hartmann and the Austrian popular or declining court epic.[3]

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(1) In this connection compare the use of harte in the works of Konrad von Würzburg, who seems also to follow literary tradition as to this particle more and more in his later works. Der Trojanische Krieg shows 1.4 examples per thousand lines, Keiser Otte 3, Alexius 4, Engelhard more than 5.

Compare also Rudolf von Ems, who shows 2 examples in Der Gute Gerhard, 4 in Barlaam und Josaphat.

(2) For the supposed influence of Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's Lanzelet upon Hartmann as shown in the Erec see Gruhn, ZfdA 43, p.265 ff.

(3) Compare the data as to starke under a separate heading.

West Middle German.

| | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1. Moselfrankish.** | | | | |
| Vorau Alexander (1) - - - | 54 | 6 | 4 | 11 |
| Rolandslied - - - - - | 400 | 17 | 2 | 4 |
| König Rotner - - - - | 144 | 37 | 7 | 26 |
| Orendel - - - - - | 202 | 18 | 5 | 9 |
| Strassburg Alexander - - | 268 | 25 | 3 | 9 |
| Sanct Brandan - - - - | 102 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| **2. Rheinefrankish.** | | | | |
| Friedrich von Hausen - | 17 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| **3. Hessian.** | | | | |
| Athis und Prophilias - - | 36 | 7 | 5 | 20 |
| Liet von Troye - - - - | 119 | 63 | 13 | 53 |
| Frlösung - - - - - | 124 | 9 | 1 | 8 |
| Elisabeth - - - - - | 99 | 1 | | 1 |

(1) The Vorau version of the Alexander, besides having a slightly higher percentage for harte, shows other marks of popular influence, especially in the frequency of such expressions as ûwî wie, owî wie, ê wî. These sometimes take the place of strengthening particles in the Strassburg version. Cf. Vor. 1071, Str. 1480; Vor. 1097, Str. 1515, Vor. 1290, Str. 1792.

Although the use of harte was by no means regular or uniform in WMG, the above table will show that it was considerably greater than for Upper German. The word seems to have come into popularity here earlier than in upper Germany, and its use is more general. The first five monuments on the list for Moselfrankish, all from the latter half of the twelvth century, show a greater actual frequency, and a higher percentage than do the Bavarian-Austrian works of the same period. That the use of harte was more general, is shown by the freer way in which it is joined to adjectives and adverbs. Many combinations (1) are found here which do not occur in Upper German, and a larger class of words to which it may be joined is included.

Harte with adjectives and adverbs in -lich-e-en is especially frequent . 21 of the 37 examples in König Rother are with such words, and 10 of the 17 in the Rolandslied. The former is supposed by the editor to have been written in Bavaria by a Frankish "Spielmann". Although the examples of harte are here more frequent

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(1) Wîlennaît, harwe, genôte, hêreit, kunielîchen, liep, lussam, nûtze, reine, stolz, touren, wîplîchen, etc.

than in other Middlefrankish works, this tendency to associate this particle with words in which shows that its use here is distinctly Frankish, rather than due to Bavarian influence.

Grendel shows 18 examples of _harte_: _harte kleine_ and _harte grôz_ 17 times.(1) This condition of affairs, where _harte_ is confined to such locutions as these, we should expect to find only in works of a much later date than 1160, which is given by Berger as the probable date of the present version. The frequency of _gar_ in this monument indicates also a later date, as _gar_ did not make its way into the literary language of this dialect to any great extent until well into the next century. The popular nature of the poem may have something to do with the matter, though in the case of _gar_, there is no evidence that it was current so early in the popular speech.

Sanct Brandan shows a smaller number of examples than should be expected here at the beginning of the

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

(1) This poem, which bears evidence of contamination and interpolation, shows frequent repetitions of lines and passages. _Harte grôz_ occurs only in the line, _mit harte grôzen âren_, which is found 17 times in the poem.

thirteenth century. The words with which it is joined however, wîslich, 339, güetîchen 1637, wîlîgevar 1892, indicate that the particle was in active use and not limited to the more common locutions.

The highest percentage for harte for all dialects and all periods is reached in the Liet von Troye(1215). Harte here forms 53 per cent of all the particles used, and occurs nearly 13 times per thousand lines. One Thuringian monument, Heinrich und Kunigunde, shows about 14 instances of harte per thousand lines, but it constitutes here only 22 per cent of all particles.

There is probably a distinction to be made in the use of this particle between Hessian and other WMD dialects. In Hessian at least vil had taken a very subordinate position early in the century. Its place during the first part of the century was taken, as may be seen from the Liet von Troye, by harte, for the latter part, as in the Friösung und Elisabeth, by gar. The general popular use of harte here is the more probable because it was current also in the neighboring province of Thuringia.

The decline in the use of harte toward the end of

the century is very marked in the Hessian dialect. The examples in the Erlösung(1295) harte wol, vil, lange, wirdeclichen, serre, do not indicate that its use was limited entirely to formal literary expressions, but they show a tendency in that direction. The Elisabeth shows a still lesser use of harte, harte genuoch being the only instance in 5000 lines.

The list of words with which harte is most frequently joined in WMG shows a slight difference between WMG and Upper German usage. They are: groz 23 times, wol 17, vil 16, schône and lange 5, vrouwelîche, sêre, and wîslîche, each 4, liep and lustsam each 3.

| Thuringian. | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Heinrich und Kunigunde - - | 288 | 62 | 14 | 22 |
| Vater Unser - - - - - - | 172 | 20 | 5 | 21 |
| Der Süngen Widerstreit - - | 180 | 33 | 6 | 18 |
| Tristan - - - - - - | 121 | 5 | 1 | 4 |

The table for Thuringian shows a free use of harte at the beginning of the thirteenth century, which gradually decreases until the end. The lyrical works show no examples at all. Heinrich und Kunigunde shows the highest actual frequency and the highest percentage for harte. In this monument the combinations are very free, and it is altogether probable that harte at this time was a part of the Thuringian popular speech. Besides the more common phrases we find: harte bôs, keiserlich, klûwer, reine, rôt, scharf, tiure, unsachte, zewis, sicher, [illegible],

The Vater Unser from the middle of the century shows less than half as many examples, but the percentage is about the same. Here too the combinations are free, harte wîse, reine, sicht, brôte, kluoc, heim, houm, besides the more common expressions.

¶ In der Sünden Widerstreit, the 53 examples of *darte* are with 23 different words. Although these happen to be the words with which *darte* is quite commonly found, they are sufficient ~~[illegible]~~ in number to show that this particle is still freely used.

In Tristan but 5 examples are found in 5000 lines, and these constitute but 4 per cent of all particles. These do not seem to be limited to the common locutions *darte megetlich*, *darte minneclich*, *darte stolzlich*, *darte si*. It would seem that here as in Hessian *darte* was felt until late in the century as a general strengthening particle.

The sermons of Eckard, Wackernagel 30-81, 83-84, show only 4 examples of strengthening particles, all of which are *der*.

South and East Frankish.

| | Total Lines | Lines | Lines | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. East Frankish. | | | | |
| Mariae Himmelfahrt - - - | 34 | 6 | | 17 |
| Wigalois - - - - - | 377 | 56 | 6 | 15 |
| Moriz von Craon - - - | 56 | 19 | 11 | 34 |
| Der Renner - - - - - | 137 | 4 | 4 | 3 |
| 2. South Frankish. | | | | |
| Reimar von Zweter - - | 130 | 1 | | 1 |

South and East Frankish monuments show likewise a free use of *harte* early in the century. Moriz von Craon from near the Alemannic borders, probably shows Alemannic influence. The lyric monument of this group shows only a single instance of *harte*. The examples from the Renner are limited to the stereotyped expressions *harte wol* and *harte wunneclich*.

# Gar.

Gar, as an indefinite strengthening particle is found as early as the twelfth century in Upper German. The original meaning of OHG garo, gâlawo, used adjectively, was prepared, complete. As an adverb it meant entirely, gânz und gar. Both of these uses extend into the MHG period. König Rother Sell, zwelif dûsent littare wale gare, (twelve thousand knights well prepared for war) is an instance of the first. Gar is generally used in MHG, however, adverbially, and is generally defined in the dictionaries as meaning completely.(1) While the examples from the twelfth and early part of the thirteenth centuries are meager, there is no doubt that as applied to adjectives and adverbs, this word had become weakened in force to a mere indefinite strengthening particle. By the end of one century it had become well established in this use in the literary language of all dialects.

The process of weakening of gar is quite parallel to that through which modern German ganz has passed. Gar

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(1) Benecke-Müller-Zarncke, I 480ff, 2-a1.
Lexer I 738, gar, gâzzlîch, vûllîc, ganz und gar.
Haupt, Erec, note to line 5800.

was applied to an adjective or adverb originally signified the highest degree or completeness of the quality under consideration. *Gar gut*, and later *ganz gut*, were then equivalent to NHG *vollen gut*, and meant perfect. Then from the easy habit of exaggeration, always a characteristic of popular speech, the word came to be applied where the quality instead of being absolute was only relatively high, and the expression began to be taken with a grain of allowance. In the case of *gar*, this discounting of the face value went on so far that its original meaning was lost sight of entirely. In the works of Berthold von Regensburg *gar* is no longer felt as having any of its old meaning of completeness. When the author wishes his readers to take the word literally, in its strongest sense, he finds it necessary to repeat the particle: *gar unde gar wol*, I 44-7, *gar unde gar übergut* II 36-18. The author of the Kriösung (1295), uses a similar device, that of adding the word *ganz*, *denkinde zal man lan belesen ganz zal unbewandert*, 3645-6. In the case of *ganz* (or so *gar*) the weakening has gone so far that *gar gut*, *ganz selten*, means rather less than *sehr gut*, *sehr selten*, and approaches the mean-

100, perhaps 1000, not very often. The phrase *wol* [illegible] *er* is thus merely an effort to retrieve the lost meaning of *wol* and make a strong expression out of two weak ones.

In the earlier MHG works it is often difficult to determine whether *wol* is used in its original and more general sense, or whether it is weakened and takes the place of some other xxxxxxx indefinite particle. With adjectives and adverbs representing an absolute quality, that is, one not capable of different degrees of intensity, it has necessarily the former meaning. If however the word denotes a quality only nominally absolute, and this can be determined only by the context, then the particle could have correspondingly weakened force. This is in fact a very frequent occurrence. *wol lûter*, *wol gemeinteclîch*, like *vil unschuldec*, *vil eine*, would often represent merely an indefinite degree of the quality under consideration.

When *wol* is joined to adjectives and adverbs with the prefix *un-*, the particle might seem to retain its original meaning of entirely, completely. The dictionary of Benecke-Müller-Zarncke quotes *wol unverne* Alex.

Hell. 170, gar ungemere, Walth. 48-16, an instance of such a usage. If we remember however that these words with the prefix un- in MHG do not necessarily denote a negative action, but could one that is decidedly positive, we see at once that gar may here express merely high degree. Just as vil lützel, vil kleine, usually took on the derived meaning, not at all, so unwolken often expressed not a mere absence of the quality of höflichkeit, but the presence of its direct opposite. Gar unwolken could be rendered then very impolite, very rude. Likewise gar unsanfte, very roughly, gar unverre, very near.

The accent of the word would have something to do with the turn of its meaning. Strongly accented, it would necessarily mean ganz und gar. In verse this might happen if it were placed at the point of chief accent, the end of the line. Or the emphasis might be indicated by placing the word out of its usual position. For this reason gar in postposition, or before the indefinite article, or falling at the end of the line, would be more likely to have its stronger original meaning. Compare : daz er ûzzlichen gar wil irrunten

ir schar. Vat. Uns. 1983-4.

Throughout the earlier period, gar was doubtless felt as a much stronger particle than vil. In the literary language it had the element of freshness, and the implied comparison with the idea of completeness, fertigkeit, was no doubt felt. Though never, perhaps, so strong as harte, it came into vogue at a time when that particle was distinctly felt to be quaint and obsolescent.

The following lists will show that gar during this period is capable of being joined to any class of adjectives or adverbs whatever. In the earliest examples the more common of these words: balde, dicke, gerne, manec, schiere, sêre, schône, vil, wol, etc., are perhaps conspicuously lacking. It was with just such familiar words as these, however, that the older particles vil, wol, harte, were retained the longest. Gar is just coming into prominence in the literary language during this period, and it naturally obtained a footing first with those words with which the older particles had not been so closely associated. With the more common adjectives and adverbs it displaced these older

particles but slowly.

Alemannic.

| | Total | Syncopated | Paragoged |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Poetical monuments. | | | |
| a) Lower Alemannic. | | | |
| Reinmar von Hagenau - - | 88 | 2 | 2 |
| Tristan - - - - - | 412 | 0 | |
| Flore und Blanscheflur - - | 82 | 5 | 6 |
| Die Gute Frau - - - - | 86 | 5 | 6 |
| Das Steinbuch - - - - | 27 | 0 | |
| Der Trojanische Krieg - - | 351 | 29 | 8 |
| Keiser Otte mit dem Barte - - | 22 | 2 | 9 |
| Alexius - - - - - | 110 | 7 | 6 |
| Martina - - - - - | 268 | 19 | 7 |
| Reinfried von Braunschweig - | 97 | 21 | 21 |
| Peter von Stauffenberg - - | 46 | 7 | 15 |
| b) Upper Alemannic. | | | |
| Der Gute Gerhard - - - | 214 | 7 | 3 |
| Barlaam und Josaphat - - - | 304 | 9 | 3 |
| Johannes Hadlaub - - | 106 | 37 | 35 |
| 2. Prose. | | | |
| Altd. Predigt. Wack. 42-52 - | 26 | 4 | 15 |
| Pred. d. 13 Jahrh. Griesnaber - | 53 | 36 | 68 |
| Pred. auf Joh. d. Täufer - - | 3 | 2 | 66 |

The Alemannic epics show more clearly perhaps than the monuments of any other dialect, the gradual coming into literary usage of this particle. The percentage for gar, as shown by the above table, gradually increases, with few exceptions, throughout the whole period. Tristan, with no examples dates from the beginning of the thirteenth century. Rein. v. Braun. and Peter v. Stauf., which show the highest percentages for Lower Alemannic, are from the end. The two lyrical monuments, Reinmar and Joh. Hadlaub, show a higher percentage than their positions in the table would warrant. Das Steinbuch, which is popular in tone, shows also a high percentage.

The Alemannic Predigten of Wackernagel show very rare instances of gar, and for this reason are probably to be placed very early in the thirteenth century. Griesshaber's Altd. Predigt. show a percentage of 68, which indicates, as mentioned under the discussion of vil, that they should be placed in the fourteenth century.

In Upper Alemannic gar probably came into popularity earlier than in Lower Alemannic. Harte disappeared here very early, as we have seen. The percentage of

35 for this particle in the works of Johannes Hadlaub (1302) shows that by this time it had become quite familiar.

The words with which gar is joined in the poetical monument are numerous, as is to be expected in the case of a particle just coming into prominence. The contrast in this regard between gar and harte is very marked. The following are the most frequent combinations: gar inneclîch, lûter, 4 times each; elentrîche, minneclîche, ritterlîche, vlîzeclîche, 3 times each; genâme, hôch, gewaltec, liutsaelec, trûebe, senîte, unmaere, unmazzen, unsanîte, unlanke, wunderlîch, twice.

| Bavarian-Austrian. | Total Occ. | [illegible] | [illegible] |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. Bavarian. | | | |
| a) Poetical monuments. | | | |
| Albrecht von Johannsdorf - | 13 | 1 | 8 |
| Parzival - - - - - | 293 | 7 | 2 |
| Wolfdietrich B - - - | 235 | 7 | 3 |
| Neidhart von Reuenthal - | 93 | 4 | 4 |
| Die Warnung - - - - | 83 | 3 | 2 |
| St. Franziskus Leben - - | 109 | 11 | 10 |
| Der Heilige Georg - - - | 86 | 6 | 7 |
| Der Jüngere Titurel (?) - | 154 | 17 | 11 |
| Lohengrin - - - - - | 90 | 35 | 39 |
| b) Prose. | | | |
| Bertholo von Regensburg - | 366 | 266 | 73 |

2. Austrian

a) Poetical Monuments.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Genesis - - - - - - | 159 | 1 | |
| Matierist - - - - - - | 53 | 2 | 4 |
| Kindheit Jesu - - - - - | 83 | 1 | 1 |
| Ortnit - - - - - - | 126 | 1 | 1 |
| Wolfdietrich A - - - - - | 250 | 1 | |
| Ortnit and Wolfdietrich C - - | 46 | 1 | 2 |
| Kudrun - - - - - - | 552 | 2 | |
| Waltner - - - - | 134 | 11 | 8 |
| Karl der Grosse - - - | 344 | 4 | 1 |
| Freidanks Bescheidenheit - - | 94 | 2 | 2 |
| Diu Krone - - - - - - | 395 | 15 | 8 |
| Ulrich von Lichtenstein - | 389 | 12 | 3 |
| Garel von dem blühenden Tal (?) - | 338 | 8 | 2 |
| Friedrich von Sonnenburg - | 26 | 6 | 24 |
| Alexander - - - - - - | 101 | 13 | 13 |

B) Prose.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Altdeutsche Predigten aus S. Paul. | 182 | 0 | (about 1300) |

From the above tables for Bavarian-Austrian, it will be seen that the lyrical monuments, Alb. v. Johannsdorf, ~~and~~ Waltner, and Friedr. von Sonnenburg show relatively high percentages. In the Austrian popular epic gar is remarkably rare. The Nibelungen offers a single instance from the version C, Kudrun 2, Biterolf und Dietleib none, Ortnit and the different version of the Wolfdietrich very few. The Bavarian monuments show the greatest frequency of this particle and the highest percentages. St. Franziskus Leben 10 per cent, Lohengrin 39. Ulrich von Eschenbach,

who follows the traditions of the court epic more closely, and who perhaps represents the local usage of Bohemia, uses this particle rather sparingly, though he writes from the end of the thirteenth century.

The absence of gar from the early Austrian popular epic indicates that this particle was not current in the popular dialect of that region at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Considering the great frequency of strengthening particles in the Nibelungen, and the great variety there offered, there is no way to account for the absence of gar except on the ground that it was unknown to the current popular speech. Biterolf und Dietleib, from Styria, suggests the same state of affairs for that part of the territory. The examples of gar in the later popular epic, especially the later versions of Wolfdietrich, may be ascribed to local influence in the different dialects in which they were produced, or to the fact that by this time gar had become a rather common literary term. Further indications of the absence of gar from the popular speech in certain parts of the Austrian territory is offered by its absence from the Frederich aus S. Paul., from Carinthia. (300).

Ulrich von Lichtenstein(Styria, 1255-57) shows a percentage of 3 for gar. His use of this particle is no doubt due to the influence of gar in the other literature of his time rather than from any natural tendency to use it. Had gar been current in his native dialect, considering his fondness for effusive and emphatic declaration, we should expect every page of his poetry to show numerous examples.

That gar was current however in Bavaria, is shown by its frequency in the Bavarian epics mentioned above, and by the sermons of Bertnold von Regensburg. These show in 8000 long lines 266 examples, or 73 per cent of all particles.

In the poetical monuments of Bavarian-Austrian, gar is also scattered over a great number of adjectives and adverbs. Gar vil occurs 5 times, gar gewaltec, gar schône, 4 times each; gar with gesunt, unmaere, 3 times; with ricke, heidlichen, müede, riche, unverzaget, unsinneclich, unsanfte, wunneclich, wol , twice. Bertnold von Regensburg, in the sermons examined, uses gar wol 37 times, gar vil 26, gar grôz 12, gar guot 11, gar übel 8, as compared with vil wol 17, vil grôz 1, [illegible]

| Swabian. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) Poetical monuments. | | | | |
| Erec - - - - - - - | 373 | 9 | 1 | 2.5 |
| Gregorius - - - - - - | 150 | 2 | | 1 |
| Der Arme Heinrich - - - | 81 | 1 | | 1 |
| Gottfried von Neifen - - | 88 | 4 | 2 | 5 |
| Ulrich von Winterstetten - | 138 | 7 | 3 | 5 |
| Der Marner - - - - | 54 | 5 | 1 | 10 |
| Rosengarten - - - - | 141 | 26 | | 19 |
| Wolfdietrich D - - - - | 270 | 9 | | 3 |
| b) Prose. | | | | |
| Bruder David von Augsburg - | 16 | 11 | | 70 |

The above table shows a gradually increasing use of gar in Swabian throughout the whole period. Hartmann makes a very sparing use of this particle except in Erec. The presence of gar in Erec to a greater extent than in his later works, where he is more in line with traditional usage, is to be taken as evidence that he took this particles from his native dialect. Its increasing frequency in the later lyrical monuments and in Rosengarten, indicates the growing popularity

of gar in the popular speech. Wolfdietrich B follows doubtless the traditional word usage of the older versions, though the presence of gar is probably the result of local influence.

The popularity of gar during the latter half of the thirteenth century in Bavaria doubtless extended also into Swabian territory, especially the souther part, and reached over into the Upper Alemannic. Bruder David von Augsburg shows the same percentage for gar as Berthold von Regensburg, though he does not use strengthening particles so frequently.

| West Middle German. | Total words | No. of gar | No. ber Thousand Lines | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) Moselfrankish | | | | |
| Orendel - - - - - - | 202 | 14 | 3 | 7 |
| Sanct Francas - - - - - | 102 | 8 | 4 | 8 |
| b) Rheinfrankish | | | | |
| Friederich von Hausen - | 17 | 2 | 4 | 12 |
| c) Hessian. | | | | |
| Atrîs und Prophilias - - - | 30 | 0 | | |
| Iwet von Trôye - - - - - | 119 | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| Frîdûsung - - - - - - | 134 | 80 | 14 | 64 |
| Elisabeth - - - - - - | 90 | 44 | 9 | 44 |

In WMG gar is practically unknown as a strengthening particle before the thirteenth century. Orendel shows 14 examples, but in view of its absence in other important monuments, it is altogether likely that these belong to a later reworking of the poem, and not to the

original version, which the editor dates about 1160. Sankt Brandan (1200) is the first monument to show reliable examples of this particles, which occurs here 8 times.

In the Hessian dialect, Herbort von Fritzlar (1215) uses gar very rarely in the Liet v. Troye, 4 times in 5000 lines. Some of these instances may perhaps be questioned. In the Erlösung (1295) gar is the chief strengthener, 80 examples being found and these constituting 64 per cent of all particles used. In the Elisabeth gar is also the most frequent particle, though it shows here a percentage of only 44. The predominance of gar at this period in Hessien as well as in Thuringian, is more decided than anywhere else in the MHG field. This is the natural consequence of the early decline of vil in these dialects.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Thuringian | | | | |
| Heinrich von Morungen - | 45 | 1 | | 2 |
| Heinrich und Kunigunde - - | 288 | 2 | | 1 |
| Vater Unser - - - - | 122 | 2 | | 2 |
| Der Sünden Widerstreit - - | 188 | 13 | 4 | 7 |
| Heinrich von Meisen - - | 88 | 21 | 4 | 24 |
| Tristan - - - - - | 121 | 65 | 16 | 54 |
| b) Prose | | | | |
| Sermons of Eckard, Wack. 5-6, 60-1. | 4 | 4 | | 100 |

In Thuringian *gar* is rare before the latter half of the thirteenth century. The lyrics of Heinrich von Morungen show *gar unhô* 133-26, *Heinrich und Kunigunde gar rept* 175, *gar lîpte* 2604, Vater Unser, *gar gebrûder-lîche* 175, *als gar gehorsam* 1878. In the lyrics of Heinrich von Meissen *gar* is much more popular, and in the Tristan Fortsetzung of Heinrich von Frieberg it constitutes 54 per cent of all strengthening particles.

That *gar* was current in the popular speech of this dialect by the end of the century at least, is to be assumed by its frequency in the literary monuments.(1) The same is indicated by its presence in the sermons of Eckard.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| East Frankish. | | | |
| Wigalois - - - - - | 377 | 2 | |
| Winsbeke und Winsbekin - - | 17 | 2 | 12 |
| Der Renner - - - - | 137 | 34 | 25 |
| South Frankish. | | | |
| Reinmar von Zweter - - - | 150 | 8 | 6 |

(1) The statement of Paul in his dictionary under *gar*: "Volkstümlich ist dieser Gebrauch nur im Süden," if true, can apply only to modern times. Compare also Kip p.160, commenting on this statement of Paul: "Diese dialektische Eigentümlichkeit scheint bis in alte Zeit zurückzureichen."

In the South and East Frankish dominions gar ~~also~~ shows itself also but rarely before the second half of the thirteenth century. Two questionable examples are found in Wigalois, Winsbeke shows one unmistakable example, gar alt 60-5, Winsbekin, gar wîsiu 8-9. The lyrical poems of Reinmar von Zweter show 3 examples, or 6 per cent of all strengthening particles, which is a high percentage for his time(1227-60). Der Renner shows a percentage of 25 for gar, vil being the most common strengthener with a percentage of 70.

Wol.

Wol as an indefinite strengthener of adjectives and adverbs is somewhat frequent during this period, and especially during the early part. This use of the word is so closely connected with wol the adverb of manner, and the strengthener of a whole assertion, that the two must be considered together. The word is derived from the root of wollen, and therefore meant, in the first place, according to wish, in a desirable manner, then, thoroughly. As a modifier of verbs, and denoting the manner in which the action is performed, wol is frequent with such words as bewarn, behalten, gezemen, phlegen, tuon, etc. Here the original meaning of the word is the most clearly preserved.

More frequent however than with such verbs, and more important for the later development of the word, are the instances of wol with verbs of knowing, believing, perceiving through the senses, seeing, etc. This use of the word is so common and well understood that it is hardly necessary to cite examples. The following may however be given:

ich weiz wol daz er sich machet mêr uns zeiuht ûz die êrî. Krone 3226.

ich meine wol daz ir sît ein vil erkîcher zage. Krone 3758.

als ich nu wol waene. Fl u. Bl. 1447.

ich sîhe wol daz der tôt die liebe nuoz verswenden. Fl. u. Bl. 1486.

dâ verstânt sich wol diu reine daz ich gerne bî ir wâs. Iwein 332.

nû ich im alsô nâhen quam daz er mir wol war genam. Iwein 471.

iru vastet niht, daz hoere ich wol. Iwein 817.

ez scînet wol . . daz diu rede nâch ezzen ist. Iwein 815.

In such examples as these wol shows little of its original connection with the verb wollen, but has become merely a general strengthener of the verbal idea expressed by the word it modifies. In this use it is so firmly fixed, however, that no other strengthening adverb can take its place, even at the present time. If any other adverb is used it adds another meaning entirely. Compare for instance: diu mîne weiz die liste gar, Fl. u.Bl. 678, where gar logically does not modify the verb at all but die liste.

From its long and intimate association with such verbs as wizzen, denken, gelouben, waenen, scînen, etc. wol becomes largely subjective in its meaning. It represents more than any other adverb can do in NHG the personal opinion of the speaker. This appears very plainly in the next important function of the word, its

use as a general strengthener of an assertion. The literature of the period is full of examples, a few of which will suffice:

(1)

die wîle der mûrât lebt eine, so muge wir wol vor im genesen. Alex 5728. Wol here is equivalent to, ich geloube wol, surely.

geben si noch grôzer krâft, got machet uns doch wol sigenaft. K. der Gr. 9064. (wol = I firmly believe.)

tuostu dan die wîgerkere âne grôze dîn unêre, sô bistu wol ein vrum man.[2] Iw. 3179. (wol = I will acknowledge)

dô huop sich vil grôz weinen, dan serrê, ovê mir armen, daz ez wol möhte erbarmen ein ilnsmertez herze. Fl. u. Bl. 1484. (wol = I am quite ready to believe)

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(1) Wol here has little or nothing to do with the verb mügen. It modifies the whole statement not the auxiliary verb. This may perhaps be better seen from the following: ein man slüeze wol ein dîn ôn ês âne wer wære. Krone 830. The sense is that one man would no doubt succeed against a whole army, not that he could slay the army with little effort. Kip's classification of wol with the auxiliaries, especially müezen and kunnen, is of no significance whatever (p.221). It is the exception if wol modifies the auxiliary. Nor is his theory as to the weakening of wol logical. He says: "Wole stent in formelhafter Verbindung mit gewissen Verben, deren Bedeutung im Laufe der Zeit derartig verschoben wird, dass eine unbestimmte Möglichkeit an Stelle des älteren bestimmten Begriffes tritt. Diese Verba schiebenten gewissermassen das Anverbium mit, so dass die Unbestimmtheit, die ursprünglich nur an das Verbum haftete, nach und nach auch auf das Anverbium übertragen wurde. Vor allem gehören hierher die beiden Verba müezen und kunnen." In so far as these and other auxiliaries in connection with their infinitive, frequently refer to a future action, some uncertainty may be present. But this is no more true of müezen and kunnen than of werden and sollen, or the present tense of any verb used as a future. It is not necessary that wol should be carried along in its development towards

ich habe iu selbes niht getân, ir möhtet mich wol leben lân. Iwein 173. (wol = ich dächte wol, I should think)

er was einer Môre gelîche, mîgel und ûz elîch daz ez niemen wol geloubet. Iwein 429.(3) (that very likely no one will believe it)

In most of the instances where wol is thus used as a sentence modifier in MHG, it serves to add strength to the assertion, the above examples, where it savors of modern German wohl, being exceptional. From this use the modern German indefinite sense of the word, as in "Sie sind wohl ein Franke?" is descended. That this process of development or weakening had already begun in MHG may be seen from the above examples. Signs even of the use of wol in concessive clauses (obwohl) are at hand during this period. Doch swaz ez dar umbe sî, er mac uns wol gescheiden, doch mac er niht erleiden mir iuwer werden minne. Fl. u. Fl. 1280-4. (wol = to be sure, zwar)

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the stage of indefiniteness, by any verb or class of verbs. With this particle, as well as with others which originally signified a state of completeness or definiteness, this weakening was rather the result of sheer wear, of too frequent use.

(2) Haenmann, who misunderstood the force of wol, reconstructs, ein vol vrumer man, 3179.

(3) See Bech, note to Iwein 1762, "wol = lelent, möglicherweise." 173 and 429 are however unexplained.

(4) This weakening in the force of wol is parallel to that which has taken place in zewâre, ongevar, vaste, gewis.

From being thus a general strengthener of an assertion, it is quite easy to localize the word and make it applicable to an adjective, an adverb, or even a numeral. It is then difficult, often, to determine whether the particle modifies the verb, the whole sentence, or the adjective or adverb. Compare the following: daz was och wol gerûeke daz man in niht zerslûeke. Hart. 39-63. Where the adjective is in attributive position, it is reasonably certain that wol is intended merely as a strengthener of the adjective, but with adjectives in the predicate, and with a verbs, the difficulty is nearly always present.

In wol as a modifier of a numeral the same development took place as in wol the sentence modifier. Originally it was felt as a real strengthener. Kuster ich? Wol tûsentstunt, Walth 39-26, at least a thousand times. That the writer or speaker thought he was keeping well within the bounds of truth, is shown by the frequent addition of the words oder mêre, oder baz: wol

The excessive use of such asseverations, and the general experience that they are necessary only where room for reasonable doubt exists, has caused them one after the other to be discounted.

vierzic tûsent oder drîzehen baz. Iwein. 181-3. wol hundert ouer mêre, 279-3. Again it is shown by an effort to state the number exactly, instead of expressing it roundly: wol viertehalbe zwîfter lange. Bit.u. Dist. 7500.(6) This force of the word was however soon lost, and most of the examples of wol with numerals during this period are to be taken as equivalent to ungefähr.

As a strengthener of adjectives and adverbs it is to be noticed that wol is often found with words expressing distance, motion, or some space relation, such as verre, lange, wîten, mâen, ûf, nîn, etc. The starting point seems to be the idea of motion from some place, and wol expresses the same turn of thought as English well in such expressions as well away, well beyond, well along. Comparison with wol the sentence strengthener may not be lacking in these examples, though the relation to guot is perhaps closer, wol being here equivalent to, a good distance. Compare einen guoten wec hîn, Iwein 5555. Quite of the same nature are such expressions as mâner baz, Rol. 4274, and vîrhaz, English

(6) Compare, wel nyne and twenty in a compayne, Chaucer Cant. Tales Pro. 24.

better than a mile. In all such figurative expressions the measuring standard of one class of ideas, with its different gradations, is applied to another class. Wol nîeh, Eng. well nigh, represents the same turn of thought. Probably originally applied to space relations, wol nîeh meant well aim, towards, afterwards well nigh. Compare nîeh as a preposition. Wolfram uses wol nâen, Parz. 182-27, wol nâen gein der sîle zîl.

Wol is more frequently found associated with adjectives formed from pastparticiples, and retaining something of their verbal meaning, or with adjectives similar in form to participles, and easily associated with the corresponding verbs. Sometimes the particle is inseparable from the participle, and the two form a single compound expression. For example, wol getân, wol gestaht, (old French de bon aire), wol gestalt. In such instances wol retains its original force, either as meaning in a desirable manner, or well, thoroughly, as when modifying verbs of knowing or believing. In many cases no other strengthening may be used, which is evidence that wol is not here weakened to a general strengthening particle. Further examples of such are:

wol gesund, wol kunt, wol bekant, wol gemut, wol ge-
rade, wol bereit, wol wân.

Like rente, wol is sometimes found with words of the same general meaning. This may be compared to the Mod Germ. custom of heaping together adjectives having a similar meaning, for the purpose of expressing a high degree of the quality. Compare for instance, fein artig, fein gerbar, hübsch schön etc., English good and not, nice and clean. Examples of such a usage in MHG, in which the original meaning of wol is to a greater or less degree felt, are: wol billich, wol velle, wol wert wol behagen etc.

Unlike rente, wol is not found with words of an opposite meaning. This indicates that the association in meaning of the particle and the original adverb was always more or less present.

Finally wol is applied to other adjectives and adverbs and has the force of an indefinite strengthening particle. With these it can take the place of some other strengthener. That its field of usefulness should here be limited, is easy to understand when we consider that the process of weakening, by which this particle approached in meaning the indefinite word, was well un-

der way during the thirteenth century. Its career as a modifier of adjectives and adverbs was thus cut short.

Being so largely subjective in nature, and used so generally with gradually weakened force as a sentence strengthener, wol was never a strong or very emphatic particle.

To be compared with wol are such phrases as, ze wunsche, ze freude, ze prîse, all of which are comparatively frequent.

Following is a list of the words with which wol as a strengthening particle is associated the most frequently in Upper German. Wol with these is not always free from traces of its original meaning, though examples where this is manifestly retained are excluded. Wol bereit, gemuot, gewar, kunt, very frequent. Wol balde 10 times, gelîche 8, îmîn, bîlîch, 3, gevuoge, gemelt, ger, manec, ûl, verre, valle, war, wert, 2; With other words only a single instance each has been found.

Note (6) Haupt in his edition of the Erec reconstructs vol in several instances where the manuscript reads wol. Thus, vol karger man 2381, vol tugentlîche 9909, mit vol blanker varwe 7293, vol also 7244, vol nâen vol minneclîchen 6794. In this he follows Lachmann (See Haupt to 2381, L. to Iwein 5179) Mit vol blanker varwe is evidently from analogy to vol liehter varwe, 7729 (note to 2381). Vol is however here not a modifier of liehter, but liehter varwe is a genitive plural depending on vol, and the line should be rendered, full of brilliant colors. All such reconstruction is unjustified. Vol seems never to have been weakened to a general strengthening particle. Certainly it is not so used by Hartmann. Compare Erec 4816-20: ich bîte iuch, tugenthafter man, sît ir mir sît gewesen guot, daz iu mir vol(le) wol tuot, daz ich iuch mêre erkennen: gerinnet iuch mir nennen. Vol in this passage is not a strengthener of wol, as English full well, but modifies the verb wol tuon, and has about the same force as vol in vol sprechen. The passage means, since you have already done me one favor (to return his horse as requested) I beg that you will go further and do me the highest, the complete honor of telling me your name. So line 7375, ein prânt schoene und volle guot, Volle guot means perfect in every respect, not merely very good, as may be seen from the context: weder ze nider noch ze hoch7341, and , also was es volkomen daz er dar ane hânt hete genomen alse groz als umbeis Har, 7388-8. So, volle guot, Arm. Hein. 1177, ûns kan daz hânt gewerren iuwer maget enzî volle guot, which should be rendered, that your maiden is not fully perfect, which was demanded to effect a cure. (See Bech's note to this passage)

Elsewhere examples of vol have been noticed: Hein. v. Meissen, Leiche 3-8, volle sælenhaft; Martina 38-55, vol gewinne; St. Brandan 1820, volle gerne; Köni Tirol, 1-3 volle lobesam; Hein.v. Freiberg, Tristan volle wît und grôz 1158, volle môch 6044. Other examples where the original meaning of the word is manifestly retained.

The greater part of the examples of wol are from the beginning of the thirteenth century or earlier. In Alemannic, Gotfried's Tristan shows 28, or 70 percent of the whole number for this dialect. In Swabian they are, with one or two exceptions, from Freidank. In Bavarian-Austrian, the three Nibelungen versions show 27 examples, Diu Krone 7, Parzival 5, elsewhere are only scattering examples, many of which are doubtful. By the end of the century this particle had practically become obsolete, its use being confined to such expressions as wol velle, wol ûf, and to those connections where its original force was largely retained, as wol werelt, wol kunt etc. It is exceedingly rare in the prose monuments for the whole period. Bertold von Regensburg shows wol ûfîlôn, wol wanle.

In Middle German the examples of wol where it may be considered as an indefinite strengthening particle are rare and scattering before the latter part of the thirteenth century. Die Erlösung (1205) shows 7, Elisabeth 14. In the latter monument the examples are so numerous, (28 per thousand lines) and so evidently genuine as to suggest ~~[illegible]~~ that wol was at this time current in the popular dialect.

Rente.

Rente, OHG rento, as a strengthener of adjectives and adverbs, is found very early in the Germanic dialects: rento uoarlût, Ot. IV 24-26; rento virinîn, Mus. 10, and rento palwîc, 26. The word is from the same root as Latin regere, to guide or straighten, Mod. Germ. richten, and is a participial formation. The original meaning was, in a straight way, then, correctly, in a proper manner; Ot. III 23-39, mir . . folge, ther rento wan-kan wolle. The different stages in the development of the word as it came to be applied to adjectives and adverbs, are not easy to follow. It is probable however that the process was quite different from that of wol. There is no reason to believe that the idea of what is right or just, entered into the conception of the word, and that from this it passed to the idea of generously, in a rich measure, to a high degree. Had such been the development, we should expect to find it at first associated with words of a kindred meaning. This does not however seem to be the case. Its connection with virinîn, terrible, and palwîc, destructive, in the Muspilli, shows that no such idea is there

present. It is more probable to assume that an early differentiation of meaning took place, and that there resulted on the one hand, Bierm rechte, gerechte, on the other hand, the strengthening particle, which passed through some such stages as exactly, fully, to a high degree. Evidence of such a development is to be found in the use of the word with als, alsô, alsan. Compare rent' als ich iu ê seite, Tr. 3468; and further, such phrases as, rent' unz in diu tor, Tr. 487; again such examples as, was ir varwe wîz rôt var, noch rente wîz, noch rehte rôt, Liet v. Tr. 602. In each of these rehte has the force of exactly, gerade, as English, right up to the gate.

The same idea is expressed in the use of rehte with numerals, rehte vierdehalp, Von Antichrist, 28[illegible]-13; rehte vier und zwanzic, Str. Alex. 5095. Before numerals rehte does not appear to have been weakened to ungefähr, about, as in the case of wol. This function was assumed by the latter particle exclusively.

Rehte, then, joined to adjectives and adverbs marked originally the completeness of the quality, and little or no connection with the idea of what is right or prop-

or. Rente quot meant God in the literal sense of the word. Rente leit implied that the thing or condition of affairs to which ~~it~~ This expression referred was such that it might correctly be described in these terms. From this meaning rente was easily weakened to a general strengthening particle.[1]

As thus used it will readily be seen that rente was very emphatic, approaching in force to harte. That it was a more polite and elegant word is indicated by the preference shown for it by the lyrical writers.

In the majority of instances rente as a strengthening particle is preceded by alsô, sô, wîc, swîe, or some such adverb, as was the case with gar during the earlier part of the period. The use of such expressions in connection with rente, or rather the use of rente or gar in such instances where a striking comparison is to be made, or a clause of result introduced, indicates merely that these were felt as very strong particles.

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[1] Compare in this respect English right and downright, the latter retaining to a greater extent its original force. Downright nonsense, zerwezu Unsinn, but also downright glad, downright sorry.

## Alemannic.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Courtly Romances. | | | | |
| a) Lower Alemannic. | | | | |
| Reinfrit von Hagenau | 48 | 11 | 5 | 17 |
| Tristan | 412 | 34 | 2 | 8 |
| Flore und Blanscheflur | 82 | 17 | 2 | 21 |
| Die Gute Frau | 86 | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Das Steinbuch | 27 | 4 | 4 | 14 |
| Der Trojanische krieg | 55 | 41 | 4 | 12 |
| Keiser Otte | 27 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Alexius | 110 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Martina | 200 | 15 | 2 | 6 |
| Heinfried von Braunschweig | 37 | 4 | | 4 |
| Peter von Staufenberg | 46 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| b) Upper Alemannic. | | | | |
| Der Gute Gerhard | 214 | 6 | 1 | 3 |
| Barlaam und Josaphat | 97 | 4 | | 4 |
| Johannes Hartlaub | 106 | 15 | 7 | 14 |
| 2 Prose. | | | | |
| Alte. Predig. Wackernagel I-III | 91 | 1 | | 4 |
| Deut. Predig. d. 13 Jahrh. Gries. | 53 | 7 | | 13 |

The tables for Alemannic show a very irregular use of rhyme throughout the thirteenth century. Flore und Blanscheflur shows the highest percentage, next Gute the popular Steinbuch, and the two lyrical moments. These latter, Reinfrit von Hagenau and Johannes Hartlaub, show the highest total frequency, 6 and 7 per thousand lines, respectively. There is a certain difference between the three works of Reinfrit von Würzburg, der Trojanische krieg showing 4 examples, Otte 1, per 1000, Keiser Otte and Alexius 1 example that is each.

The number of words with which rente is joined in Alemannic is very large. The following are the more frequent combinations: rente wol 15, schône 9, suoze 8, minneclich 6, wunneclich 6, frô 5, guot 5, keiserlich 4 vîn 3, wê 3, môch 3, mânen 3, ungerne 3, wert 2, bitterlichen 2, dicke 2, leit 2, manec 2, swære 2, with about 60 other words a single instance each.

From this list it appears that whatever the process of development through which rente has passed, the actual usage of the particle during this period has been influenced by the original color of the word as shown in the adverb of manner. In the majority of instances rente is united with words expressing a good or desirable quality. Words of the opposite meaning are not lacking, though they are not so numerous.

| Bavarian-Austrian. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. Bavarian. | | | |
| a) Poetical monuments. | | | |
| Parzival - - - - - | 293 | 9 | 3 |
| Neidhart von Reuental - - | 93 | 4 | 4 |
| St. Franziskus Leben - - | 109 | 4 | 4 |
| Der Heilige Georg - - - | 86 | 2 | 2 |
| Lohengrin - - - - - | 90 | 6 | 7 |
| b) Prose | | | |
| Berthold von Regensburg - - | 366 | 2 | |

2. Austrian.

a) Poetical Monuments.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Genesis - - - - - | 159 | 3 | 2 |
| Die Büchner Moses - - - - | 177 | 1 | |
| Kindheit Jesu - - - - | 83 | 1 | 1 |
| Nibelungen - - - - - | 1150 | 57 | 5 |
| Biterolf und Dietleib - - | 701 | 4 | |
| Wolfdietrich A - - - - | 250 | 3 | 1 |
| Kudrun - - - - - | 552 | 13 | 2 |
| Walther - - - - | 134 | 10 | 8 |
| Karl der Grosse - - - | 344 | 7 | 2 |
| Friedanks Bescheidenheit - - | 94 | 1 | 1 |
| Ulrich von Lichtenstein - | 389 | 21 | 5 |
| Garel von dem blühenden Tal (?) - | 338 | 9 | 3 |
| Friedrich von Sonnenburg - | 26 | 2 | 8 |

The frequency of rente in Bavarian-Austrian monuments is also irregular. Here the lyrical works show the highest percentages: Walther and Fried. v. Sonn. show each 8 per cent, Ulrich v. Lient. 5, Neidhart 4. The epic monument showing the highest percentage is Lohengrin, which has many popular features of style. The Nibelungen comes next with 5 per cent.

Rente has been found in Bavarian-Austrian with about 170 different words. Of these the greater number express a good or desirable quality. The most frequent are: rente wol 13, minneclich 10, hêrlich 7, schône 7, guot 6, liepliche 5, manlich 5, lieb 5, vroelich 4, vrô 4, süeze 4, reine 3, vriuntlich 2, wemuote 2, wunneclichen

2. Those of a more or less opposite meaning: rente leit 9, wê 8, grimmeclîchen 3, jaemerlîchen 2, swaere 2, vientlîchen 2, furtaer, a single instance of each of the following: boese, krimme, kumberlîchen, klageliche, tobelîche, trûreg, übele, unwanite, unfriuntlîchen, unvroelîchen, vreislîch, vientlîche, unreine.

3. With words of an indifferent color: rente gal 6, kunt 3, kûme 2, nâhen 2, wâr 2, grôz 2, etc.

| Swabian. | Total Rentes | [illegible] | [illegible] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wernners Maria - - - - | 92 | 2 | 2 |
| Heinrich von Rugge - - | 25 | 3 | 12 |
| Erec - - - - - - | 373 | 4 | 1 |
| Erstes Büchlein - - - - | 59 | 1 | 2 |
| Gregorius - - - - - | 150 | 3 | 2 |
| Armer Heinrich - - - - | 81 | 1 | 1 |
| Zweites Büchlein - - - | 15 | 1 | 7 |
| Iwein - - - - - - | 259 | 5 | 2 |
| Gottfried von Neifen - | 88 | 5 | 6 |
| Ulrich von Winterstetten - | 138 | 9 | 6 |
| Rosengarten - - - - | 141 | 3 | 2 |

In Swabian rente is more popular with writers of lyric than of epic poetry. Heinrich von Rugge shows the highest percentage, Hartmann's Zweites Büchlein, Gottfried von Neifen, and Ulrich von Winterstetten come next in order. Otherwise there seems to be nothing pe-

culiar concerning the use of this word in this dialect. Rechtmanneclîchen occurs 3 times, rechte guot, rechte gûetlichen, rechte wunneclîchen, rechte wol, twice each.

| | Total | rechte | rechte |
|---|---|---|---|
| West Middle German. | | | |
| a) Moselfrankish. | | | |
| Vorau Alexander - - - | 54 | 1 | 2 |
| Orendel - - - - - | 202 | 15 | 6 |
| Strassburg Alexander - - | 268 | 4 | 2 |
| Sanct Brandan - - - - | 102 | 1 | 1 |
| b) Rhinefrankish | | | |
| Friedrich von Hausen - | 17 | 2 | 12 |
| c) Hessian | | | |
| Atnis und Prophilias - - | 36 | 1 | 3 |
| Liet von Troye - - - - | 119 | 2 | 2 |
| Erlösung - - - - - - | 124 | 5 | 4 |
| Elisabeth - - - - - | 99 | 3 | 3 |
| Thuringian. | | | |
| Heinrich von Morungen - | 43 | 3 | 7 |
| Heinrich und Kunigunde - - | 288 | 2 | 1 |
| Vater Unser - - - - | 122 | 1 | 1 |
| Der Sünden Widerstreit - - | 188 | 15 | 7 |
| Tristan - - - - - | 121 | 3 | 3 |

In West Middle German rente is rare as a strengthening particle throughout the whole period. Only two monuments show more than 5 examples. Orendel offers 15. This monument is exceptional also in the use of harte and har, as has been previously mentioned. Der Sünden Widerstreit, which is popular in tone, shows 15 examples, or 7 per cent. The lyrical monuments show the highest

percentages: Friedrich von Hausen 12, Heinrich von Morungen 7.

Rente wol is here the most frequent combination, occurring 8 times, rente gerne is found 5 times, rente lieplichen 4, rente schoene 3.

| | Total | % | |
|---|---|---|---|
| East Frankish. | | | |
| Himmelfahrt Mariae - - - | 34 | 1 | 3 |
| Wigalois - - - - - | 377 | 8 | 2 |
| Der Renner - - - - | 137 | 3 | 2 |
| South Frankish. | | | |
| Moriz von Craon - - - | 56 | 0 | |
| Reinmar von Zweter - - - | 130 | 5 | 4 |

The South and East Frankish monuments show also very few examples of rente. The lyrics of Reinmar von Zweter show the highest percentage. With the exception of this latter monument the instances are less than one per thousand lines.

Rente is thus seen to belong more particularly to Upper German, and to be most frequent in Alemannic and Bavarian-Austrian. There are no signs of its becoming entirely obsolete at any time, and it doubtless continued in use down to the present time.

Genuoc.

Genuoc, OHG ginuog, Gothic ganohs, is connected with the Gothic preterite present verb ganah, it satisfies. This word is used in MHG as a strengthener of adjectives and adverbs as well as verbs. No similar use of the word occurs in OHG or Gothic. What is perhaps the original meaning may be seen in Gothic ganohs, which signifies primarily much, then sufficient. Compare: þah gid iddledun imma sipponios is ganohal, Luke 7-11, and many of his disciples went with him. And further, Neuh ganoh skal qiþan izwiz, John 16-12, I have much yet to say to you, ganoh here being a translation of the Greek πολύ.

Throughout the OHG period the two notions of much and sufficient are associated with the word, both as adjective and as adverb. Compare Merigarto 4, Ûz der erda sprungan manigelâhte prunnen, manic clîni sê, in cône unt in ebene, wazzer ginuoniu, where wazzer ginuoniu is to be rendered, much water.

Otfrid uses the word ginua in both senses: III 20-38, Fon tressen dages fristi sô waz in thar fîr testi in guate ginuagi, testi ginuagi being rendered suffi-

ciently firm. In the following, genuog has the force of rlenly, in full measure: Allaz quat zi ware sô flôz fon imo thâre allen liutin in genuag. III 14-82.

This double meaning holds for the word during the MHG period. Compare: er hat wenc und ich genuoc, Parz. 7-6. As a modifier of a verb : auch weiz ich's selbe genuoc, Tristan 13963. It is hence very easy to join this adverb to an adjective or another adverb as a mere strengthening particle. It is not necessary to assume that the word was first used in this connection ironically, as the dictionary of Benecke-Müller-Zarncke states. The early history of the word is evidence to the contrary, as is also the fact, which will appear below, that genuoc is used much more frequently with words expressing a good or desirable quality than with those of opposite meaning. The earliest instances of this use of the word, genuoch nêre, Gen. 57-9, genuoch redespaene, Gen. 130-2, retnenaft genuoge, Rol. 1371, 8788, are with adjectives of such a nature. With these it is very unlikely that irony can be intended.

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(1) Benecke-Müller-Zarncke II.
Kip p. 165.

genuoc as a strengthening particle is nearly always in postposition, and almost invariably in rime. Besides the examples mentioned above, the following have been noted where the particle stands before the word it modifies and outside of rime position. Wolfd. C. III 45-4 genuoc lange, Moriz von Craon 715 genuoc rîche, Gebet einer Frau, Diemer 381-19 genuoc dûkke, Atnis und Propnilias C"27 sô rîten sie genuoc trage, Freq. aus S. Paul. 76-15 ôi taten sich ûf und wurden genuoch lebentîen, Hartmann's Erec offers three instances out of eight, before the word modified:

> von dem hûs genuoc verre, 9870
> wâ si was genuoc frûo, 2442
> heidin genuoc kuntîen. 2340.

In Iwein, five times before the word modified, and five times in postposition; the latter examples being all from the first 5000 lines:

> er ist genuoc tugendeze, 5242
> nû ist er genuoc billîch, 5244
> daz leben was genuoc kumberlîch, 5574
> begunden si hôhen . . ernsten im genuoc verre, 6474
> ir herze ist ein genuoc engez vaz, 7044.

Armer Heinrich shows: nû ist genuoc unerîhten daz ir degenlîu . . lide hât tôt, 457; nû vorhte si daz si waere genuoc unwandelbaere, 1172. The Trstan Bruchstück shows genuoc tiur 390.

Genuoc rimes almost invariably with either truoc or kiuoc. The two examples from the Rolandslied quoted above rime, or rather assonance, with kuone. Parzival 157-3, Guter Gerhard 5043 each rime with kiuoc. Outside of rime but in postposition genuoc is found: Troj. Krieg 211, wan mir ist sanite gnuoc da mite; Atn. und Propn. F150, al wer er sêre gnuoc virlagin.

The fact that this particle appears so rarely outside of rime position, and that the rime words in this ending are so few, suggests that it is preserved in the epic merely for the sake of rime. Truoc and kiuoc form an important part of the word stock of epic poetry, and but for such a word as genuoc, which as a strengthening particle may be tacked on almost anywhere in a sentence, the monotony of constantly riming the two words together would be great. Hartmann's freer use of the word probably indicates that it was current to a greater degree in Swabia than elsewhere.

Associated in meaning, as it is, with the idea of sufficiency, we should expect genuoc to be united preferably with words expressing a good or desirable quality. The lists which follow will show that such is the

case. Of this nature are bescheidenlîch, blîdlîch, biderbe, edel, gerne, guot, mâre, mêrlîch, nôit, kostlîch, küene, mîlt, lîep, rîch, samfte, sælde, sælev, snel, sûberlîche, unschuldec, unwandelbære, triuntlîch, vrô, vroelîch, vrom, vîzec, wîse, wîslîch, wol.

It is found also with words of the opposite meaning: grimme, grimmec, grimwelîch, heimlîch, leit, not, swære, trurec, übele, unsælec, vient.

Aside from these, genuoc seems capable of modifying any class of adjectives or adverbs whatever, and to have no other special color.

The following lists show the occurrences of this particle which have been noted.

| | Total Lines | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Alemannic.** | | | |
| a) Lower Alemannic. | | | |
| Flore und Blanscheflur - - | 82 | 3 | 4 |
| Die Gute Frau - - - - | 86 | 2 | 2 |
| Der Trojanische Krieg - - | 351 | 6 | 2 |
| Keiser Otte - - - - | 22 | 2 | 9 |
| b) Upper Alemannic. | | | |
| Der Gute Gerhard - - - | 714 | 4 | 2 |
| **Bavarian-Austrian.** | | | |
| I. Bavarian. | | | |
| a) Poetical Documents. | | | |
| Parzival - - - - - | 195 | 14 | 3 |
| St. Franziskus Leben - - - | 109 | 2 | 2 |
| Lohengrin - - - - - | 90 | 8 | 3 |
| b) Prose. | | | |
| Berthold von Regensburg. | | | |
| - - | | 0 | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2. Austrian. | | | |
| a) Poetical Monuments. | | | |
| Genesis - - - - - | 135 | 3 | 1 |
| Kindheit Jesu - - - - | 85 | 8 | 10 |
| Nibelungen - - - - | c. 1500 | 44 | 3 |
| Ulteroll und Dietrich - - - | 701 | 12 | 2 |
| Wolfdietrich A - - - - | 250 | 2 | 1 |
| Ortnit and Wolf. B - - - | 46 | 1 | |
| Kudrun - - - - - - | 552 | 17 | 3 |
| Karl der Grosse - - - - | 544 | 4 | 1 |
| Freidanks Bescheidenheit - | 94 | 1 | 1 |
| Diu Krone - - - - - | 395 | 2 | |
| Garel von der blüenden Tal - | 138 | 10 | 3 |
| b) Prose | | | |
| Alta. Predig. aud S. Paul. - - | 182 | 2 | 1 |
| Swabian. | | | |
| Erec - - - - - - | 375 | 8 | 2 |
| Erstes Büchlein - - - - | 59 | 1 | 2 |
| Gregorius - - - - - | 150 | 2 | 1 |
| Armer Heinrich - - - - | 81 | 2 | 2 |
| Iwein - - - - - - | 255 | 10 | 4 |
| Der Marner - - - - | 54 | 1 | 2 |
| West Middle German | | | |
| Rolandslied - - - - | 400 | 2 | |
| Saint Brandan - - - - | 102 | 4 | 4 |
| Athis und Prophilias - - | 30 | 3 | 9 |
| Elisabeth - - - - - | 95 | 1 | 1 |
| Thuringian. | | | |
| Heinrich und Kunigunde - - | 203 | 5 | 2 |
| Vater Unser - - - - - | 132 | 1 | 1 |
| Tristan - - - - - - | 121 | 4 | 3 |
| South and East Franken. | | | |
| Wigalois - - - - - | 377 | 4 | 1 |
| Moriz von Craon - - - - | 56 | 2 | 4 |

The above lists show that genuoc as a strengthening particle is more particularly Upper German usage. The Bavarian-Austrian monuments show the greatest frequency. The highest percentage is found in the Kindheit Jesu, 10 per cent, Kudrun and Parzival show each 4, the Nibelungen and Garel 3, Biterolf und Dietrich 2. The other monuments show an inconsiderable number, one per cent or less.

The absence of genuoc in lyrical works is noteworthy. This is no doubt partly due to the fact that the rime words for genuoc, truoc and sluoc, are either not a part of the word stock of lyrical poetry, or, as in the case perhaps of the latter, found only rarely. No doubt also genuoc was felt to be obsolescent as a strengthening particle, and such words, unless they happen to be a part of the traditional lyrical diction, are not apt to find a place in lyric poetry.

In the case of some of the examples quoted, particularly from the latter part of the thirteenth century, there may be doubt as to whether they are really intended as strengthening particles. Those from the Predigten aus St. Paul. seem to indicate that the word

was current in this portion of the field (Carinthia) at that late date. Even here, though, they may be merely remnants such as might be preserved in religious diction long after they had become obsolete elsewhere. Berthold von Regensburg shows no examples, nor have any been found in the sermon literature elsewhere.

The examples from the Alemannic monuments are rare. None are to be found in Tristan, and they are only scattering elsewhere. None are found in the works from the end of the century. Instances of genuoc with a word expressing an undesirable or evil quality are proportionally few in Alemannic, or only 2 out of 18. This is in contrast to Austrian usage, particularly in the popular epic, where this particle with such words as grimme, leit, trûrec, zornec etc., is comparatively frequent.

In Swabian the examples of genuoc are all from the works of Hartmann with the exception of vîstlîc genuoc, der Marner 15-16. This is the only example of genuoc with lyrical writers that has been noted. The word was very likely more frequent in Swabia than elsewhere, as mentioned above. Iwein shows the highest percentage,

though the word is actually nearly as frequent in Fred.

In South and East Frankish only Wigalois and Moriz von Craon show examples of genuoc. In these it is found only with guot, rîche, and sûnerîche.

In Ladre Gerhard the instances of genuoc are also few and scattering. None deserve special mention except perhaps those in Heinrich von Freiberg's Tristan, which are remarkable for their late date(1303-1320). They occur here however in rime, which may account for their presence.

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(1) Heinrich von Freiberg, although endeavoring to continue in the same spirit as the original Tristan, and although he makes a great use of epithets and formulae from Gottfried's version, shows no signs of influence from this source in the matter of strengthening particles. Gottfried's strengthners are, in the order of their frequency: wol, harte, wol, ûzze, êre; Heinrich's, ker, vil, harte, genuoc, ûzze.

# sêre.

sêre, OHG sêro, an adverbial form of the adjective sêr, is frequent during this period as a modifier of verbs. As such it meant originally, sorely, with distress; it was then generalized as a strengthener of a verbal idea and could be applied to any kind of a verb. As applied to adjectives and adverbs, and weakened to an indefinite strengthening particle, it is found in certain parts of the MHG field.

Before sêre appears as a general strengthener of adjectives and adverbs, it is found with certain participles which have a meaning similar to that of the particle. Sêre wunt is perhaps the most common of these [illegible] sêre erschrahte occurs in Kudrun 59-1, sêre geseret, Diu Krone 6344. It is found then with adjectives and adverbs of a kindred meaning: sêre leit, St. Fr. Leben 1950, Krone 16623, sêre ande, Krone 4393, sêre krank, Krone 6698, vil sêre siech, Rein. v. Zwater 140-1, sêre nôt, Hein. u. Kunig. 99, sêre gehaz, Garel 2648, sêre lasterhaere, Garel 976. In these examples instances of the association of related ideas are offered, and sêre here retains something of its original meaning. Its

use however extends to other connections, where all trace of its original meaning seems to have disappeared. In Alemannic monuments the following have been noted: sêre ande, Trist. 13543, erbarmeclich, 1764, entwegen, Troj. Krieg, 7923, irôudehait, Trist. 586, Troj. Krieg 6906, froudebaere, Alex. 938, fro, Trist. 11385, grôz, Fl. u. Bl. 4342, guot, Trist. 172, Fl. u. Bl. 3765, irresam, Trist. 11880, kriechait, Troj. Kr. 1562, leit, Trist. 6820, Troj. Kr. 7083, missevar, Trist. 12750, nânen, Rein. b. Hag. 160-28, Trist. 7251, rîch 2747, 4583, starke, 5877, scharpf, 9027, trûrec, 2601, schadenhait, 6990, unfrô, 2387, 2552, 11531, vûr, 6295, wê, 12257, 12752, willec, 5062.(4)

This use of sêre is confined almost entirely to Lower Alemannic, and appears here only in the first half of the middle of the thirteenth century. Gottfried von Strassburg's Tristan furnishes the greater part of the examples, 23, out of a total of 31.

In the other dialects the examples of sêre are scattered and are found chiefly with wunt and adjectives and adverbs of a kindred meaning, as noted above. Aside from these the following may be cited: Diu Krone,

sêre lanc, 6709, Sünden Widerstreit, harte sêre unfrô, 1683, sêre unrente, 1826, sêre vaste, 1828, sêre wunt, 2444, Heinrichs Buch,(2) gar sêre bitter, 1166, sêre schnell, 1466, sêre wol, 1514, 2188, sêre freudenrîche, 2380,

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(1) These examples from Alemannic writers, and the fact that this particle seems to disappear from the literary language during the thirteenth century, are interesting in view of the statement of Paul in his dictionary that sêre is unknown to the popular speech of Upper Germany. (dem. Schwäb-Bair. fremd, dafür arg, recht, fast, gar. Kluge.)

This use of sêre is not noted in the MHG dictionaries. Benecke-Müller-Zarncke quote sêre wunt, but state that "bei den attributiven Adjectiven findet sich sêre nicht" Tristan 583, 2552, 11531, 5877, are examples of sêre with attributive adjectives.

Bartsch makes no note of this use of the word in the vocabulary to his edition of Tristan, and only a passing reference to it in a note to line 9027, the sixteenth time the word occurs: "diu waren geslîffen sêre scharpf unde wahs, geslîfen ist aufzufassen als adjectivisches Participium, nicht als reines Particip., das folgende scharpf ist adj. nicht adv. zu slîfen, und sêre ist adv. zu scharpf, nicht zu geslîfen." Bartsch apparently takes sêre in this connection here as a matter of course.

(2) This monument shows a most varied and curious assortment of strengthening particles. The older ones are intermingled with those more modern in such a way as to suggest great contamination. For this reason the examples here found have not been included in the previous lists. They include: wol 36 times, wol 34, harte 22, gar 15, sêre 5, vaste 3, rente 2, cîflîch 2, michel 1, al 1, sunterlî.

Starke.

Starke, as a strengthening particle, is to be compared with harte, modern German mächtig, English mighty. Like harte, it was probably first applied to adjectives and adverbs expressing quantity, distance, etc., and illustrates the tendency to associate the idea of strength with that of size. Besides adjectives and adverbs of quantity, it is united preferably with those which express an unpleasant or undesirable quality, although it is found not infrequently with those of opposite meaning.

Under the first category, may be noted: starke grôz, Nib. 2039-1, starke breit und grôz, Krone 1227; starke lange, Krone 3114; starke tief, 3315, 3315.

Under the second: starke leit, Nib. 641-3; Iwein 3007, 3240, Krone 838, 9209; starke bleiben Krone 9920, s. trûebe, Nib. 843-4, s. unfrô, Iw. 1432; s. vient, Nib. 1865-1; s. wunt, Iw. 5463, 5564, s. wilde, Krone 5522; s. wê, Nib. 1013-2, 1026-4.

Under the third: starke frô, Wern. Maria 205-52; s. wol, Krone 2841, 2900, 6259, 5154, 5656; s. lînte, Krone 5948. Further examples are: starke ungeliehen, Krone 981, s. unmaere, 3170; s. ger, 5623; s. gezam, Iw. 455.

It may be seen from the above lists that the use of starke as a strengthening particle is essentially Austrian, and that it is very limited. The examples are all from the early part of the thirteenth century. As to Hartmann's use of this particle, mention has already been made under the discussion of harte.

Al.

Throughout this period al is generally used in its literal sense, and means alltogether, ganz und gar. Occasionally it is found weakened in force to an indefinite strengthening particle. As such it is to be compared with gar, rente, waste, which originally indicated a state of completeness of the quality expressed by the word modified. Only occasionally is al found with adjectives or adverbs denoting any other than an absolute quality. Such combinations as al bewarwe, al besunder, al eine, al geliche, al gemeine, al zesamene, al ze mal, etc., are the most frequent. That such were not generally understood as examples of indefinite strengthening particles is shown by the manuscript add

text confusion as to al. Frequently it is inflected, alle, and agrees to agree with the subject of the proposition, as, sie dinken alle gemeine.

When this particle occurs with words not necessarily denoting an absolute quality, it is difficult to determine whether the writer means it as an indefinite strengthener, or intends that it should be taken in its literal sense. It depends then largely upon the individual peculiarity of the author, and whether he is given to harmless exaggeration in this way. The instances where this particle is plainly to be taken as an indefinite strengthener are rare. They are to be found in the Austrian popular epic and in Parzival. The latter monument offers the ~~most~~ greatest number of genuine examples. Compare al balde, 127-18, 633-26, al blôz, 560-14, al bluwecliche, 653-28, al breit, 739-13, al brîte, 223-26, al kurz, 227-10, al niuwe, 396-19, 435-17, 540-14, al samfte, 581-2, al sûr, 514-19, al starc, 523-15, al stille, 358-2[illegible], 386-28, al trûrîc, 822-11, 153-4, al viste, 324-1, 368-1, 410-20, 555-30, al vrô, 209-25, 288-16, 540-18, al wâr, 210-18, 276-12, al wîs, 501-9, 457-12,

Michel.

Aside from its more frequent use with comparatives, michel is found during this period in a few instances as a general strengthening particle. In original meaning michel is similar to grôze and vil, and like the latter, it is a comparatively colorless adverb. It is doubtless largely owing to this fact that it never came into more general use. Having nothing in the way of special significance to recommend it as an effective strengthener, and the field being already largely occupied by vil, there was no general demand for such a particle. In the transitional, or pre-classical MHG period, scattered instances of this particle are found, as well as in the monuments of the early part of the thirteenth century.(1) The following have been noted for the period under consideration:

Kudrun, michel hôch und stârc 65-2, michel rent 804-1,

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(1) Compare the citations by Kip, p. 178, also the following: michel vreissam, Judith MSD 3-2; wî michel lôt, Loh Salomon, MSD XXXV, 3-4; minnî gotîch, Freis. Ausl. des Paternosters, MSD IV 2; minnî sêre, Seq. de S. Maria, MSD , 28; michel rent, Geo. erner Fr. Diem. 37[illegible]-11, michel môt, Wîlîram, GuF 38, 5-2.

Kip's statement that michel during this period is found only with rent is thus incorrect.

michel wêr, 1524-1; Solet [illegible], michel nôt, 2[illegible], michel grôz, 1430, VI michel grôz, 1558; Heinrich Fuch, michel grôz, 2248; König Rother, michel leitn, 3429, 2467; Wolnier. D, michel swaere, VI 6[illegible]-4; Altd. Predigt. Wack. michel rent, 27-4, 27-6[illegible].

Grimme.

Two Austrian monuments show examples of grimme as a general strengthening particle, the Nibelungen, and Diu Krone, of Heinrich von dem Türlin. In the former are found grimme küene, 872-3II, 2038-4, grimme helt, 50-3II, 192-1, 620-2II, 641-3II, 1274-1, 1456-3, 1718-5II, 1963-2, 2066-3I, 2096-3, grimme starc, 185-4I, 872-3I, grimme vient, 1865-1.

Diu Krone, grimme arnstarc, 12[illegible]a.

Strengthening Particles with Comparatives.

With comparatives the list of strengthening adverbs is not so large as with the positive degree. Vil, michel and verre are the most frequent, instances of far, genuog, wîten, ealneg, are rare, and no others have been noted. The reason for this lies in the nature of the comparison. What is emphasized in a strengthened comparative is the degree or extent of difference of the quality under consideration, in the things compared, and there is less room for pleasing epithets or striking figures. What is sought for as a word which will express the degree of difference, and to this purpose the adverbs of quantity or extent are best suited. As thus used these adverbs are left in their literal sense, as adverbs expressing quantity, rather than as general strengthening particles. Vil baz, michel baz, mean better by much, verre baz, or wîten baz, better by far.

Vil.

The most frequent strengthener of comparatives during this period is vil, which undoubtedly continued in

use down to modern times. Examples of this particle are so numerous in the literature of the period that none need here be cited.

Michel.

Next to *vil*, *michel* is the most frequent strengthener of comparatives. This particle appears both as an accusative, and as a genitive of measure. The two forms are about equally frequent, and there seems to be no rule as to which is preferable in any given connection. Both often appear in the same text. Sometimes this is merely a matter of editing, though manuscript confusion is also present.

Examples of *michel* with the following comparatives have been noticed: *mêr* 8 times, *baz* 3, *gezzorn* 2, *harter*, Iwein 2906, *lenger*, Pred. aus S. Paul. 134-12, *grôzzer*, Liet v.Troye 3711, *warmer*, Nib. 2112-2, *heiliger*, Pred. a.St.Paul. 132-26, *swîfter*, Nib. 1429-211, *vester*, Str. Alex. 4563, *wunderlîcher*, Pred. aus S. Paul. 25-9.

*Vil* occurs with: *mer*, 11 times, *baz* 3, *wirs*, Berth. v. Reg. I 117-35, Liet v.Troye 3529, *lenger*, Bar.u.Jos. 156-26, Pred. Bayerns. 59-11, *bezzer*, Berth.v.Reg.

I 152-23, harter, Iwein 4391, elter, Fried. Bescheid. 79-5, lieber, Freid.Bescheid. 56-2.,

Verre.

Verre with comparatives is nearly as frequent as michel. The following examples have been noted: verre baz, 21 times, bezzer, 4, lieber, 4, nôher, 2, schoener 2, gerner, Heil. Geo. 5353, klârer, Erlös. 1258, linder Heil.Geo. 3068, mêr, Bertn.v.Reg.I62-34, nêher, Renner 1761, richer, Heil.Geo. 5320, samiter, Garel 2476, swarzir, Atn.u.Pro. B85, umgelicher Bertn.v.Reg. I 103-37, unsenegelicher, Bertn.v.Reg. I 21-6.

Maneges.

Maneges is found with comparatives in Gottfried von Strassburg's Tristan, as follows: maneges bezzer, 1004, maneges enger, 1474, maneges wirs, 17844.

Gar.

Gar with comparatives occurs: gar bezzer, Parz. 191-19, gar schierer, Rosengarten, 266-4.

Genuoc.

Genuoc baz occurs in Parzival, 486-16.

Witen.

Witen mêre is found in Jüngere Judith, 156-27.

Summary by Dialects.

A brief review of the previous material, giving the conditions during this period by dialects, will now be in place.

Alemannic.

Throughout the whole period wîl is the predominant strengthening particle. Signs of its decline are evident however, toward the close of the thirteenth century, and these are more decided in Upper than in Lower Alemannic. Harte is frequent in Lower Alemannic monuments at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and gradually goes out of use during the remainder of the period, first in prose and lyric poetry, then in the epic. In Upper Alemannic it disappears earlier than elsewhere. Gar is known by the beginning of the thirteenth century, and gradually increases in frequency throughout the period, becoming more popular in Upper than in Lower Alemannic. Sêre is found in Gottfried's Tristan and other Lower Alemannic epics of the early thirteenth century, but disappears from the literature shortly after. Genuoc and wol are used infrequently during the first half of the century, but are practical-

ly unknown during the latter half. Ronte is infrequently found throughout the whole period.

Bavarian-Austrian.

In the Bavarian-Austrian poetical monuments wil likewise remains the predominant strengthening particle throughout the period. In the spoken dialect of Bavaria, as indicated by the sermons of Berthold von Regensburg, it gives way to war during the latter half of the thirteenth century. In Austria it doubtless maintained its supremacy even in the popular dialect until the end of the period. Gar is found very early in Bavarian, where it rapidly comes into prominence. It becomes also very popular in Tyrol during the last quarter of the century. In Austria it is scarcely known to the popular dialect until the end of the period. Harte is popular in Austria at the beginning of the thirteenth century and continues until late. It is less popular in Bavaria, except possibly in the north, and disappears from the prose literature very early. Wol and ronte are infrequently found, the former during the early part, the latter throughout the whole period. Grimme and starke are known to the popular literature

of Austria at the beginning of the thirteenth century, but soon disappear. Genuoc is infrequently found throughout the whole period, in prose as well as poetical monuments.

Swabian.

In the poetical monuments of Swabia, vil is the most common of all the particles, and shows no general decline before the end of the thirteenth century. In the spoken dialect, particularly of the southern part, as indicated by the works of David von Augsburg, it gives way to gar during the latter part of the century. Harte is common in the later works of Hartmann von Aue, occurring infrequently elsewhere. It was probably never very popular in the spoken language and disappeared early. Gar is found in the works of Hartmann, and increases in popularity throughout the period. Rente and wol are infrequently found throughout the whole period. Genuoc is known to the literary language at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and is more freely used by Hartmann, i. e., outside of rime position, than by any other MHG author.

## South and East Franklsn.

In South and East Franklsn the conditions are apparently not different from those of the neighboring dialects. The evidence all points to the late continuance of vil and harte, the former being predominant until the end of the period, and the late appearance of har. Rente, wol, and genuoc take an unimportant part, appearing in the poetical monuments only rarely.

## West Middle German.

In West Middle German vil is the predominant strengthening particle in the literature of the twelfth century but gives way, at least in Hessian, to harte at the beginning of the thirteenth. Harte is quite freely used in the twelfth century, and becomes the predominant particle in one monument (Diet von Troye), early in the thirteenth. It then declines rapidly in the epic monuments and har takes its place. No reliable traces of har are found until the end of the twelfth century, from which time it gradually increases in frequency until it outnumbers all other particles at the end of the century. Wol here is rare until the latter part of the

period, occurring most frequently in Elisabeth. Rente and geanos are infrequently used throughout the middle period.

Thuringian.

In Thuringian the decline of vil is not so early as in Hessian. Before the end of the thirteenth century, however, it gives way to ûr. Harte is here also quite freely used at the beginning of the thirteenth century, though in some of the monuments examined it is more frequent than vil. It declines rapidly throughout the latter half of the century, disappearing first in lyrical poetry (Heinrich von Morungen, Heinrich von Meissen). ûr is found in lyric poetry at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and gradually increases in frequency until the end, when it appears as the predominant particle.

Strengthening particles in the different classes of literature.

In the foregoing discussions several things have been assumed concerning the different classes of literature, and their relation to each other in the matter of diction. This was for the purpose of locating, if possible, the different usages as to strengthening particles on the MHG field. It will here be in order to state in a more connected way, what has already been either directly referred to or taken for granted, and show what bearing the study of these particles may have on the subject.

An important question, when a given expression is found in any monument, and especially in the case of a word used as a general strengthening particle, is, where did it come from, or where is it at home? The difficulties in the way of answering such a question are, in many instances, formidable. The greater part of the literature of this period is poetical, and shows a style and diction more or less removed from that of the spoken dialect. When a certain expression, therefore,

is found in a monument of this kind, the first thing to be determined is whether it is there because it is current in the spoken language of that part of the country where the monument originated, or whether it is merely a part of conventional literary usage, handed down, it may be, by general literary tradition. What in one monument may be a mark of local dialectical coloring, may be the direct opposite in another, and indicate a tendency on the part of the author to sacrifice local usage and conform to a supposed classical standard.

Of the different forms of literature of this period, the religious prose may be considered the nearest, in the matter of diction, to the popular dialect. Its purpose is to appeal to the people, and in it if anywhere, words and expressions which are actually current may be expected to appear. Even here however phrases and formulas would often find lodgement and remain long after they had disappeared elsewhere, and this might apply to a class of expressions as unconscious in their use as strengthening particles.

Next to the prose monuments, the best place to look for hints as to local usage would be lyrical poetry, or

the early popular epic. Lyrical diction is in general much nearer the current spoken dialect than the diction of epic poetry. In so far as it is the expression of personal feeling, lyric poetry is largely independent of tradition. It responds more readily to popular taste and fashion. Expressions are introduced more easily from the popular speech, and forms which have gone out of general use are not retained so long as in the epic.

The popular epic, especially in its earlier stages of development, that is, before it was overshadowed by the foreign or court epic, would also reflect with considerable accuracy the word usage of the current spoken dialect. The element of local color is here strong, and although this class of literature is largely conservative, and develops a standard and tradition of its own, this tradition is based in the first place no doubt upon current local usage.

The farthest removed, in the matter of diction, from the current popular speech, is the court epic. This comes in part from an effort to write in a language

free from dialectical peculiarities and suited to the cultured classes of all parts of the country, partly from the direct influence of one literary work upon another. The court epic, after having once set up a standard of word usage, is the most conservative of all forms of literature. Expressions and formulas once in fashion, continue here long after they have become obsolete in the spoken language, or even if they have never been actually current there at all. The results of direct imitation of the older and more famous works are plainest in the monuments of the middle and latter part of the thirteenth century, where expressions and formulas from the writers which by this time have become classical, are carried along in the epic diction, and curiously intermingled with similar phrases fresh from the current language of the people. This is equally true of the later popular epic. By this time the foreign epics had become well known and very popular, and the chances for success of a native German legend were all the greater if it contained frequent allusions to the works of such famous writers as Hartmann of Wolf-

rum.

This relation between the various forms of literature of this period is shown very clearly in the use of the different strengthening particles. During the period under consideration, vil and harte are both in process of becoming obsolete. The former, as has already been shown, shows the first signs of decline in the prose monuments, and lyric poetry, and remains longest of all in the epic. Harte is found very rarely in prose and in the lyrics during the period, but remains in the epic until the fourteenth century. In the early Austrian popular epic it is there as a part of general popular diction, in the later epic it remains as a part of the traditional diction of this class of literature. Gar, on the other hand, which at this time is just coming into prominence, appears first and strongest in the prose monuments and in lyric poetry, but makes its way into epic poetry but slowly. Not being current in certain parts of the Austrian field during the first half of the thirteenth century, it did not enter into the early popular epic of this dialect, and its presence in the later popular literature is due to outside

literary influence. When this particle is found in any of the early monuments from the other parts of the MHG field, however, there can be no question as to where it comes from. Unlike _harte_ and _vil_, _gar_ is not yet a part of the traditional literary language, and if used at all, it must be as a part of the poet's own dialect. _Ganz_, during this period, as likewise for modern German, although a polite expression, has a decidedly popular color. With few exceptions, the monuments showing the highest percentage for this particle are lyrical, next in order comes the popular epic, while the formal court epic shows the lowest of all.

The history of the different strengthening particles, as traced in the foregoing pages, shows that they originate in the popular dialect, and are taken up into the different classes of literature with varying degrees of readiness. After the prose literature, they appear first and strongest in lyric poetry, and, for the early period, the popular epic; the fully developed court epic being the least ready of all to take up a new expression of this kind. Before anything like a

standard of form or diction had been developed, the foreign or court epic, as well as the early popular literature, would show to a certain extent current local usage as to these particles. Even here however the feeling that the work was written for a wide circle of hearers, and for the higher classes of society, would prevent the use of any expression of this kind that was distinctly provincial, or that was not well known over the country.

When such expressions become obsolete, they disappear first in the prose literature and lyric poetry, and remain longest of all in the epic. They consitute there a part of what is distinctly poetic diction, dignified because it is old and quaint, and pleasing because it furnishes a bond of connection with the literature of the past.

Biographical Sketch.

I was born in Trumbull County, Ohio, April 8, 1869. Removing to Illinois and later to Iowa, I received my preparatory education in the high school at Gladbrook in the latter State. After a few years spent in teaching, I entered Cornell College in 1892, graduating in the philosophical course there four years later. I served then for two years as principal of the township high school at Fairfax, Iowa, and in 1898 I came to Baltimore to pursue advanced courses in German, French, and History at the Johns Hopkins University. In January 1900 I was awarded a University scholarship, and during the year 1900-1901 I held the fellowship in German.

At this University I attended courses under Professor Adams and Dr. Ballagh in History, Drs. Armstrong, Rambeau, Ogden, Wilson, and Brush, in French, and Professor Wood, Associate Professor Vos, and Dr. Baker, in German. To all of these I wish to express my hearty thanks for the many kindnesses shown. I am under especial obligations to Professor Wood and Associate Pro-

fessor Vos, who have always been ready with suggestions and helpful in their criticism.